

RENEWING

OUR

**The Rusk Report
on the future
of Greater York**

COMMUNITY

Presented by the York Daily Record and York Newspaper Co.

Reconsider York's future, debate Rusk's analysis



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dennis Hetzel

Remember those arguments around the family table, the important ones about the right ways to behave, how things needed to change, about setting goals for life?

Arguing and debating isn't so bad. As a friend of mine says, "If you ain't arguing sometimes, you ain't communicating."

We're a feisty

family called a community in York County. Our community is ready for a good, healthy argument.

This argument is as important as any I can imagine we could have. It's about what we should do, or not do, about issues of poverty and race, about land use, about our quality of life, about how we're going to manage growth, and about equal opportunity to take advantage of

community resources.

That is why the York Daily Record is proud to be involved in this work by David Rusk, one of America's top experts on urban problems.

The newspaper is not involved to tell people what to think, but to provoke a healthy debate based on a reasoned, well-researched analysis of what's happening around us.

Still, we have a bias: Why would we assume the current set-up in York County is just automatically the best we could ever have? There is much virtue in our close-to-the-people version of small-town government but, like anything in life, it has a price. Rusk's work explains what the price is, and how the price will get higher if we fail to adapt.

Is the answer an all-powerful, countywide government that runs everything? Darned if I know if that's what should happen. Probably not, my instincts tell me.

But can we change? We already have. Consider Northern Regional Police, a real success story. Take school districts. As recently as the late 1950s, York County had many more school districts than it has now. Other states have done things differently than Pennsylvania does them. For example, the Portland, Ore., region has managed to preserve a tremendous amount of

THE HISTORY OF THIS REPORT

The story behind the story of "Renewing Our Community" is this:

About a year ago, this writer wanted to sponsor a community forum on an important topic as part of the York Daily Record's 200th anniversary. Conversation started with Don Gogniat, campus executive at Penn State York.

The idea: a half-day forum on the impact of urban sprawl here. The group expanded to include Sarah King Reinecker, then of Main Street York, and Lorraine Hovis from the York County Farm & Natural Lands Trust. Joe Zerbey, president of the York Newspaper Co., agreed to help sponsor the program.

Eric Menzer, economic development director of York, and Tom Wolf, of the Wolf Organization and Better York, turned the idea into something bigger. It was time, Wolf said, to really challenge the community, building on the important work that the York 2000 project did in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Directors of Better York agreed to fund a serious examination of our community by an urban expert. David Rusk was the perfect choice. He has been a mayor and a politician who understands political realities, he is a bonafide expert in his field, and he has a no-nonsense, practical style. We agreed to publish his findings in print and on the York Daily Record's Internet site.

I want to acknowledge those who contributed to the actual creation of this report.

Joe Zerbey, Tom Norton and their team at the York Newspaper Co. contributed the considerable expense and expertise of printing and distributing this report.

At the Daily Record, my deep thanks go to Pam Panchak Cohn, Ted Sickler, David Huth and Kim Strong.

As always, you can throw a late-breaking curve to our talented staff and they'll adjust well enough to hit the pitch into the seats.

Dennis Hetzel

open space and encourage the healthy growth of one of the most livable cities in America.

Change is a constant. Life will assuredly NOT get better in York County if the community does nothing. But we are so lucky in York. The community has resources. We have a chance to manage our problems before they become overwhelming. Other parts of Pennsylvania would kill to even have the problem of managing growth.

So, let's learn from what others have done and adapt. Along the way, let's argue and debate. Let's get passionate, even angry. And let's make York County better.

Dennis Hetzel is the editor and publisher of the York Daily Record.

For renewal, county must consider some regionalizing



BETTER YORK INC.

Tom Wolf

David Rusk's study of York County was commissioned by Better York, a non-profit organization dedicated to the economic and social health of the city of York. Its members, who represent the area's largest employers are united by a common concern for the future of the city and the region it serves. The Rusk study is the result of that concern.

The members of Better York hope to do three things with the publication of this report: identify the economic and social consequences of our failure to think and act as a region; place the issue of regional interdependence on the county's political agenda; and encourage substantive political action aimed at increasing inter-municipal cooperation within York County.

David Rusk clearly accomplishes the first of these goals in his report. Looking back over the past 40 years, he shows how municipalities that can no longer grow - the city of York as well as the older boroughs and townships - are trapped in a downward spiral of increasing poverty, stagnation and decay. He suggests that unless we abandon our segmented approach to local governance, every municipality in the county will ultimately face this dismal future of decline and stagnation.

The goal of placing these questions - and the issue of regional interdependence - on the county's political agenda is up to us. There are clearly divergent views within the county on the extent to which inter-municipal cooperation makes sense. We need to bring these views out into the open, and we need to engage each other in a sustained and rational debate. We need to begin thinking now about how we intend to manage our future.

Finally, we hope that the Rusk Report generates action on the part of our elected representatives. Our municipal leaders are a dedicated, hard-working group of women and men who have the best interests of their constituents in mind. They will determine - through action or inaction - how our communities will respond to the challenges laid out in the Rusk Report. As their constituents we need to encourage them to establish this issue as a priority.

Our hope is that this report provides this kind of encouragement by making it clear that the issue of regional interdependence is the single most important long term issue we face.

Our sense is that York County is not ready to deal with the pressures it will face over the course of the next 10 years. Our indifference to issues of regional governance makes us ill-prepared to face our future. We will never solve regional problems like traffic congestion by purely local action. We will never develop a rational land

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use plan for the region if we continue to rely exclusively on local planning efforts. And, we will never assure our region of long-term prosperity if we continue to condemn our older communities to make do with declining tax bases, increasing poverty, and long term economic stagnation.

The Rusk Report asks us all to consider our current political structure as well as our long run economic and social interests. The future health of our county will be determined in large part by how we address the issue of regional interdependence now.

While we are right to appreciate the virtues of our system of local government, we must begin to develop a new appreciation of the virtues of regional cooperation.

Our hope is that the Rusk Study helps us do just that.

Tom Wolf is the president of the Wolf Organization Inc. and president of Better York Inc.

Becoming the best of America

A visitor like me easily falls in love with York County. Prosperous farms still cover many gently rolling slopes and valley bottoms.

Country crossroads villages still embody that small town America that memory wants to believe marked simpler, better days.

Opening essay by The many factories around York City, Hanover, or Red Lion testify to a strong local economy.

The first-time visitor approaches historic York City, the young United States of America's first capital, with eager curiosity.

Yet, entering York County from any direction, evidence accumulates rapidly that the very qualities that have made York County a special place are eroding away.

Headed toward Hanover along State Route 94, one passes by Hanover Crossings in Penn Township; filled with national chain stores and franchises, it is Anywhere, USA's standard shopping center. And even this warning sign does not fully prepare a first-time visitor for the visible decline of Hanover's otherwise charming downtown.

Heading west across the Susquehanna River along US 30, the motorist quickly is plunged into a lengthy jumble of factory gates, gas stations, fast food outlets, shopping centers, traffic lights, all crisscrossed by utility lines. It is hard to believe that anyone would ever deliberately plan such a mess. (And, with at least seven different municipalities and townships each having control over their own piece of the corridor, no one really did "plan" US 30.)

By contrast, coming up from Washington, D.C. and Baltimore into York County along Interstate 83 is a different experience. Particularly north of Timonium, Baltimore County's comprehensive land use plan has maintained I-83 as one of the loveliest stretches of interstate highway in the nation. I-83's scenic character largely carries over into York County. But glancing westward around Shrewsbury, one sees dozens of new, pitched roof, stucco boxes marching along the ridge line, and a sign announcing "23 acres of commercial property for sale" portends yet another cookie cutter shopping center or future office complex.

Urban sprawl has come to York County.

Dropping off I-83 down past the lovely Lake Redman, one encounters soon the other major force that has shaped post-war urban America.

Driving along South George Street past the stately old mansions of York City's Springdale neighborhood, one is quickly forced to turn right by a traffic diversion.

(Why is South George Street made one-way?) Two blocks down Jackson Street (mansions on the right, brick row houses on the left), a left turn, and South Duke Street hits the visitor with explosive force. To an architect or historian's discerning eye, South Duke Street's physical geography could be some street in Washington, D.C.'s Georgetown or Old Town Alexandria. To an expert urban observer's eye (or any other visitor's), the human geography is Harlem or the South Bronx.

No one needs census statistics, social agency reports, or police records to discern the concentrated poverty, high crime rates, unemployment, welfare dependency, and all the other indices of social disintegration that grip the historic streets leading up to York City's Market Street. One knows immediately that countless young lives are being needlessly wasted, young talents

FIVE PARADOXES OF YORK COUNTY

1 From 1960-92, York County lost 30 percent of its farmland to suburban sprawl. In the last 20 years, as much land was built over as occurred in the previous 200 years.

2 Metro York has maintained one of the nation's healthiest, most diversified manufacturing economies, but a relatively low educational level of the area labor force limits growth opportunities in the Information Age.

3 In the 1990 census metro York had the U.S.A.'s 4th lowest regional poverty rates, but York City was burdened with the U.S.A.'s 8th worst relative concentration of poverty.

4 Metro York has four times as many poor whites as poor blacks and Latinos combined, but more than 80 percent of poor whites live scattered throughout mainstream, middle class society while almost 80 percent of poor minorities are isolated in York City's poverty-impacted neighborhoods.

5 York County residents have a strong commitment to small-scale government, but having 72 independent municipal and township governments and 16 school systems fosters uncontrolled sprawl, fiscal disparities and greater racial and economic segregation.

undeveloped — and that York County is close to throwing away what could be one of the region's greatest economic assets: historic York City itself.

Yet the hard statistics do tell a story — a story of both triumphs and tragedies. The sections of this report will detail many facts — the York area's impressive, post-World War II economic performance; the costs of sprawling development patterns; the heavy impact of poverty on the area's African-American and Latino residents; the slow decline of most boroughs and some older townships.

Sprawl and race define the form and character of urban America. These two factors are shaping this lovely, historic, and prosperous corner of Penn's Woods as well.

Some other American communities deal with these issues better. Many have larger, more unifying structures of local government which can plan and act on a more regional basis. For example:

■ In North Carolina a unified Charlotte-Mecklenburg County school system is widely credited with contributing to Charlotte's emergence onto the big league scene. York County's

16 public school systems are almost four times more segregated than Charlotte's unified system.

■ The consolidated Lexington-Fayette County government has successfully used strong land use controls to preserve Kentucky's famed blue grass farms even in the midst of dynamic urban growth.

■ An inspired and activist Montgomery County, Ohio government has signed up Dayton and 28 smaller cities and townships for a decade-long, unified economic development and tax-sharing program known as ED/GE.

To confront the twin challenges of sprawl and concentrated poverty, it is not necessary for York countians to abandon a tradition of small-scale, multiple governments. It is essential, however, for the many townships and boroughs to learn to work together better on critical, common problems. This report will outline various regional policies and programs in other communities that could be adapted to York County's circumstances.

York County has been a school room in which Americans learned similar lessons about the responsibilities of nationhood. In York City the Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation in 1777. A decade's turmoil thereafter proved that, in order to "promote the general welfare," the young nation needed a stronger, central government to achieve common goals. Barely four score years later, soldiers in blue and gray marched across York County's fields on their way to consecrating the hallowed ground of Gettysburg, to giving rise to "a new birth of freedom" for one United States of America.

That was a crisis. There will be no dramatic crisis to motivate York Countians to form or defend their "more perfect union."

Yet without more unified action, in another two or three generations, York County will have seen its farms, its natural areas, its intimate network of villages and boroughs, its historic city simply erode away.

The reward of action now, however, is simple. The scale of York County's challenges is not large.

Success requires more vision and political courage than large resources. It is readily within the reach of York County to be, very simply, the best that America can be.

ABOUT DAVID RUSK



Rusk wrote this report.

Regionalism expert takes look at York County's needs

David Rusk is the "hottest urban expert in the nation today," said the Baltimore Sun in 1995, urging that "all state and local officials need to read *Baltimore Unbound*."

In 1993 the American Planning

Association called Rusk's first book, *Cities without Suburbs*, "must reading," and, the Congressional Quarterly wrote, "it has virtually become the regionalism movement's Bible."

The Twentieth Century Fund has commissioned a third book for 1997.

Since 1993 Rusk has spoken or consulted in more than 70 U.S. communities as well as lectured in Berlin, Stuttgart and Frankfurt,

Germany and Toronto, Canada.

Rusk combines scholarship with practical political experience. He has been both a state legislator in New Mexico (1975-77) and the mayor of Albuquerque (1977-81), New Mexico, the United State's 36th largest city.

Rusk graduated Phi Beta Kappa in economics from the University of California at Berkeley (1962).

From 1963-68 he was a full-time civil

rights and anti-poverty worker with the Washington Urban League. He then served as legislative and program development director for the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration.

In 1971 he and his wife, the former Delcia Bence of Buenos Aires, Argentina, moved to Albuquerque, where they raised their three children. They now live in Washington, D.C.

Past economic success doesn't guarantee future

Almost a half century ago an average family in the York region earned about \$3,080 a year. Sounds incredible today?

Well, back in 1950, that family could also buy an average house for about \$7,500 — lock, stock, and barrel.

Almost five decades later the average family's income had soared to \$37,840, but, of course, York area residents aren't twelve times better off economically. The cost-of-living skyrocketed as well. In the 1990 census the average area home sold for \$62,000 — two-car garage, family room, and air conditioner.

By how much has the standard of living really improved? And how well has the York area economy performed

One reason for the York area's economic success is continued health of its manufacturing.

compared with communities like it?

To answer these questions, we searched old census data to identify which communities were most like the York area around 1950. We came up with a list of 14 other metro areas that matched up well with the York area.

They had roughly the York area's same average family income (\$3,080 per year), same regional population (about 250,000 residents), same economic structure (47% of York area employees worked in factories), and small minority population (2% was "nonwhite"). Eight of York's regional peers were familiar Pennsylvania neighbors. Other regional peers were farther afield — Canton, Ohio, for example, or Wichita, Kansas. Finally, for comparison's sake, we added the Raleigh-Durham area in North Carolina.

The three tables on this page trace the York area's strong economic performance. According to the 1950 census, the York area's average family income (\$3,080) was only slightly above the national metropolitan average (\$3,015). The York area trailed all its peer communities except Huntington-Ashland WV-KY.

Over the next four decades, however, adjusted for national and local changes in cost-of-living, average family income for York area families grew 189% (Table B). In short, their real standard of living more than doubled. (The "Good Old Days" really weren't that good.) Moreover, the York area's rate of economic growth topped its peers, and was 11% above the average growth rate of all metro areas (128%) for the 40 year period.

The York area's economic growth rate ranked first among its competitors, but didn't keep pace with the national leaders. Real family incomes in Raleigh-Durham, for example, grew 194% during the same period.

While the average York area family's standard of living more than doubled, the average standard of living in the Raleigh-Durham area almost tripled.

By the 1990 census, adjusted for different costs-of-living, the York region's strong economic performance had moved its average family income (\$37,840) up into the middle of the list. Having trailed all its Pennsylvania competitors in 1949, the

USING CENSUS DATA

"Metro York," "the York area," or "the York region" refers to the York Metropolitan Statistical Area (York MSA) as defined in the 1990 census.

With Hanover as a major job center for southeastern Adams County, the U.S. Census Bureau included both York County and Adams County in the York MSA.

The census reports income and poverty data without adjusting for differences in regional cost-of-living.

In 1989 the Hartford, CT area's median family income was \$48,661 compared to the York area's \$36,705. The Hartford area appears almost one-third wealthier than the York area. But the Hartford area's cost of living index was 137 compared to the York area's index of 97. (The national average equaled 100.) Adjusting for cost-of-living differences, median family income for the Hartford area dropped significantly to \$35,519 while median family income increased slightly to \$37,840 for the York area. In terms of a dollar's real buying power, York area residents were 6% better off than Hartford area residents in 1989.

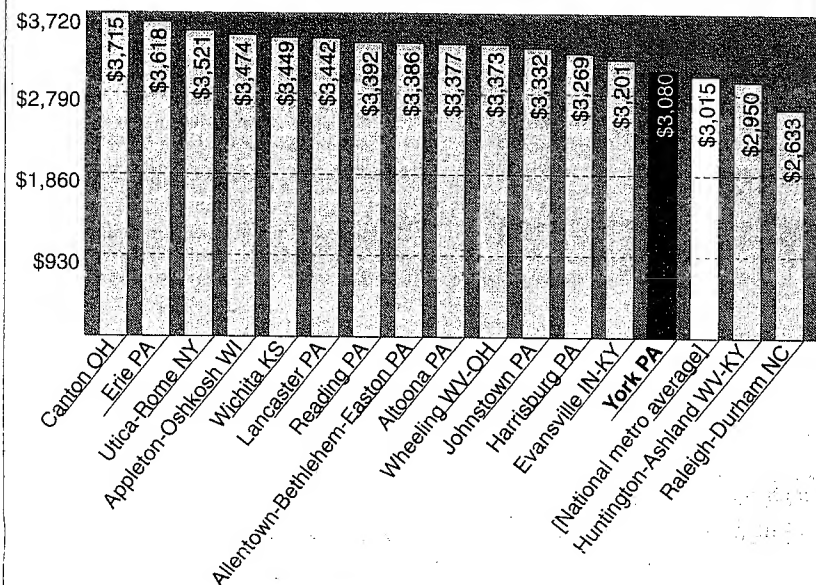
The Rusk Report adjusts all income and poverty statistics by relative cost-of-living, and calculates all "area" or "regional" statistics based on the two-county York metro area.

York area moved past Lancaster, Reading, Altoona, the Lehigh Valley, and Johnstown. In average standard of living the York area trailed only Erie and Harrisburg in 1989. (Across the

See next page

1949 Family Income:

Metro York's family income was just above national average and below its peers.



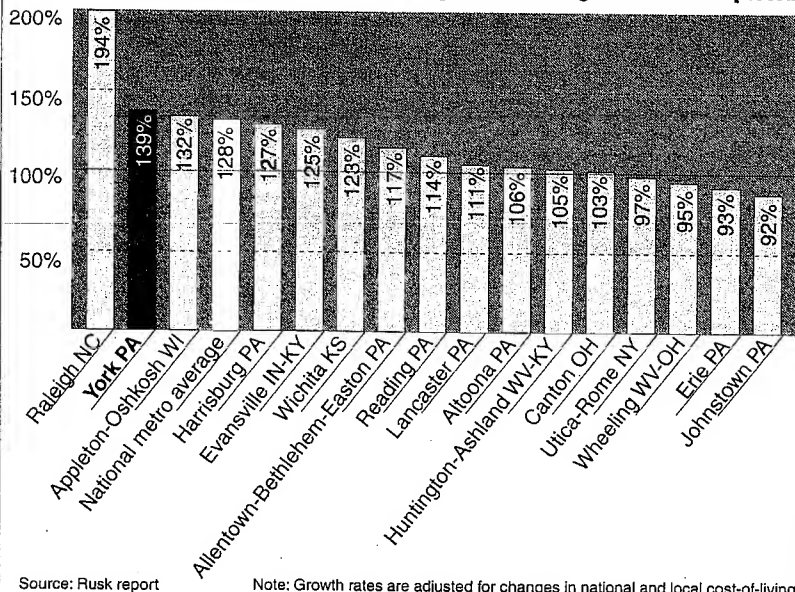
Source: Rusk report

Note: Median family income is adjusted for metro cost-of-living in 1949

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

1949-1989 Family income growth:

Metro York led its peers in average family real income growth for this period.



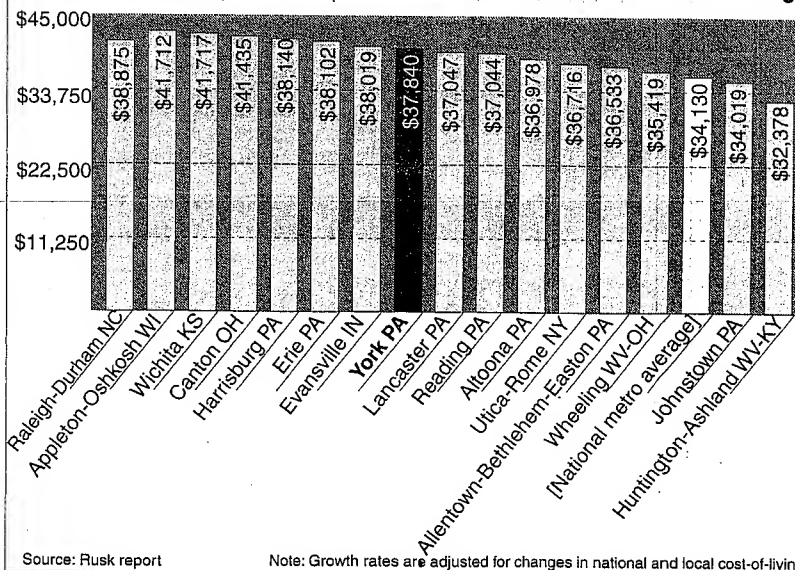
Source: Rusk report

Note: Growth rates are adjusted for changes in national and local cost-of-living.

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

1989 Metro family income:

Metro York's average family income increase was 11% above the national average.



Source: Rusk report

Note: Growth rates are adjusted for changes in national and local cost-of-living.

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

As manufacturing changes, so must York's workforce

Continued from previous page

USA state capitals like Harrisburg have tended to prosper.) By 1989, the York region's real average family income was about 10% above the average urban family's nationally.

Even more striking was the York area's remarkably low poverty rate of 6.2% in 1989 — barely half the national urban average of 12.2%. The York region had the lowest poverty rate among its peer communities, and the 4th lowest poverty rate among all 320 metro areas.

The York area's strong economic growth and very low poverty rate are outstanding achievements. Business leaders, civic leaders, and area citizens have reason to be proud.

One reason for the York area's economic success is continued health of its manufacturing sector. At mid-century America was, first and foremost, still a manufacturing economy. Roughly four out of ten employed Americans worked in factories — and 47% in the York area.

Over the four decades since, the American economy has undergone a major transformation. Economists talk about America's "deindustrialization" due to international competition and globalization of American companies. In reality, America's factories produce more goods than ever. They just do so with less workers.

From 1973-88, the period of greatest layoffs in smokestack industries, America's industrial output still increased 10% while, nationwide, factory employment dropped 2%.

By the year 2040, the U.S. Commerce Department's Bureau of Economic Analysis projects that the USA's total manufacturing output will increase 44%, while another 8% of industrial jobs are lost.

By the year 2040, the BEA projects, only one out of every 12 American workers will be employed in



Rutter's has adhered to its values but changed with the times to become a York County success story.

manufacturing.

These trends are evident in the York area as well.

In four decades the percentage of local workers in factories declined from 47% (1950) to 36% (1973) to 29% (1988). By the year 2040, the BEA estimates, York area factory output will increase 37% but one out of every 6 factory jobs will vanish.

By mid-21st Century less than 23% of York area workers will be employed in manufacturing.

By comparison with many of its peers, however, the York area held on to its local manufacturers. From 1973-88, while Harrisburg was losing 8% of its factory workers, or Reading was losing 12%, or the Lehigh Valley was losing 31%, the York area's factory employment was stable (plus 1%). Yet change continues.

Today York countians can still look to certain long-time mainstays of the local economy.

Manufacturers such as Harley-Davidson, FMC/Harsco (BMY), Caterpillar, P.H. Glatfelter, Pfaltzgraff

and York International are well known to most York County residents. But the top two employers as of 1994, according to a Penn State regional analysis, have nothing to do with manufacturing. Those two are the U.S. government and York Hospital. Others among the top 15 local employers are service or retail companies such as Giant supermarkets, Bon-Ton and McCrory Corp.

Change remains a constant.

Caterpillar has announced plans to close its York plant. McCrory continues to struggle under bankruptcy protection.

Other businesses have disappeared. Pick up an old copy of Greater York in Action, published by the York Area Chamber of Commerce in 1968.

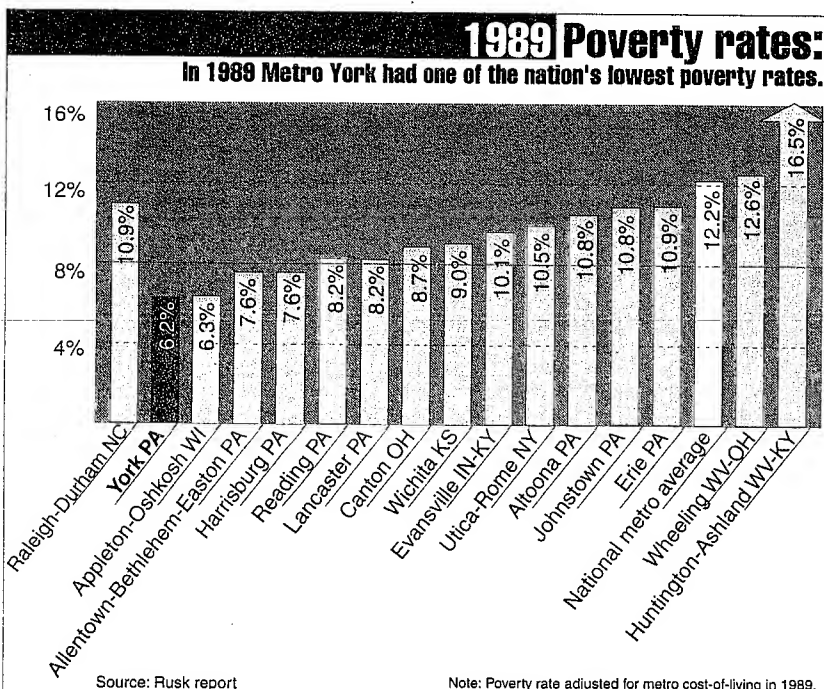
In some cases, major employers have changed hands, or been bought and sold several times. Then there are some well-known employers no longer doing business in York County. Names such as AMF, Cole Steel, the First National Bank of York, York County Gas Co., Mailman's, Acme Markets, Bear's and Weist's are no longer on the scene.

And the York region is not well positioned for the Information Age.

Despite a labor force renowned for its work ethic, the York area's educational levels are modest. Only 14% of adult workers are college graduates. That's well below the national average (20%) and far below such high-tech capitals as Albuquerque (27%), Boston (31%), Austin (32%), and San Jose (33%).

What the York area does well — manufacturing — it does very well.

But as the American economy moves into the 21st Century, America's factories need fewer and fewer workers.



DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

1973 - 1988 Manufacturing jobs:		
Metro York retained manufacturing jobs better than most peer communities.		
Metropolitan area	Growth in manufacturing jobs 1973-88	Percent of jobs in manufacturing 1973 (white bar) 1988 (black bar)
Raleigh-Durham NC	58%	15
Appleton-Oshkosh WI	22%	33
Wichita KS	22%	24
Lancaster PA	4%	35
York PA	1%	36
National Metro Average	-2%	21
Harrisburg PA	-8%	21
Reading PA	-12%	37
Evansville IN-KY	-18%	30
Erie PA	-23%	37
Canton OH	-27%	37
Huntington-Ashland WV-KY	-28%	25
Altoona PA	-28%	27
Utica-Rome NY	-29%	26
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton PA	-31%	40
Johnstown PA	-43%	25
Wheeling WV-OH	-52%	21

Source: Rusk report na = not available

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

Patterns divide county into four regions

York County isn't truly one integrated economy. The county breaks down into four economic regions, based on where most local residents worked in 1990. There are, in reality, four York Counties.

Focused on York City, the region's historic job center, "Central York" had almost 70% of the county's population and occupied half of the county's land area. Almost 46% of city residents still worked in York City. By 1990, only 22% of the residents of the "Suburban York" sub-region also had jobs within the city limits, but most worked in nearby suburbs such as Manchester, West Manchester, and Springettsbury. In all, 89% of Central York's labor force worked in York County.

Hanover, the area's second major job center, and three surrounding townships in southwestern York County plus Adams County's Conewago Township, formed what we'll call "York-Hanover." In 1990, 44% of York-Hanover residents worked in Hanover borough itself. But commuting outside York County had become more significant. Some 31% of York-Hanover residents worked outside York County; many commuted into metro Baltimore.

The metro Baltimore job market dominated economic life in southeastern York County. Almost 42% of the residents of communities like Shrewsbury, Hopewell, Fawn, and Peach Bottom Townships commuted into Baltimore County and Baltimore City for work. In fact, almost as many residents of "York-Baltimore" worked in metro Baltimore as worked in York County itself (52%).

Seven townships and 6 boroughs in northwestern York County ("York-Harrisburg") actually did depend more on employment in metro Harrisburg (55%) than in York County proper (40%).

Fewer people work in the city. But more and more area residents commute to the Harrisburg and Baltimore areas. During the 1980s, the number of local residents working in the Baltimore area more than doubled, from 6,444 to 13,038.

Harrisburg

York

Hanover

Baltimore

Lancaster

No significant economic ties exist between York and Lancaster because the areas have few transportation links

Commuting trends

The most significant economic phenomenon of the past 20 years is the growing number of York area residents who commute to jobs outside the region.

Source: Rusk report, U.S. census figures

DAILY RECORD / TRACEY BISHER and DAVID FLESHLER

But, interestingly, there were few commuters between York County and Lancaster County — barely 2% of York County's work force. Even in Hellam Township, barely one in five workers crossed the Susquehanna River on US 30 to work in Lancaster City, Columbia borough, and the rest of Lancaster County.

Despite the absence of ties with

Lancaster County, a steady shift of York County's labor force to jobs outside York County is the most significant economic phenomenon of the last two decades. In 1970 less than one out of seven York County workers (13%) was employed outside the county. By 1990, almost one out of four local workers (23%) commuted to jobs outside York County.

Over those two decades close to 40% of all new jobs for York County residents were created outside the county. During the 1980s the number of local residents working in metro Baltimore alone more than doubled.

Of course, long-time York County residents aren't just finding new jobs

See next page

DAYTON ED/GE

Though more urbanized, the political map of the Dayton, OH area looks much like the York area — 18 cities and villages, 12 townships, and a county government which is legally powerless vis a vis local governments.

Yet a creative and activist Montgomery County (Ohio) government has signed up 29 of 30 municipalities and townships in a 9-year joint economic development and revenue-sharing compact; launched a county-wide affordable housing program; and created a more unified, region-wide arts and cultural program.

The key was the county government's willingness to use its limited tax authority to promote local collaboration. In 1989 the Montgomery County Commission enacted a 1% county option sales tax. Before funding county road maintenance, the sheriff's department, and reducing bonded indebtedness, the commissioners set up three incentive funds.

With \$5 million per year the

commissioners created the Economic Development Fund. Together with private business partners, local governments could apply for matching grants — but to qualify they would have to sign up for tax-sharing as well (the Government Equity fund).

Months of negotiations ensued. The impasse was finally broken by Chamber of Commerce leaders, and in January, 1991 Dayton's ED/GE was unveiled. Within a year, 29 of 30 local governments had signed a 9-year participation contract with the county.

The Economic Development fund has been a huge success. Over the first 5 funding cycles the fund committed \$24.5 million to 117 public/private projects, matched by \$93 million in other local, state and federal funds and \$142 million in private investment.

The result: an estimated 9,661 new jobs created and 9,008 existing jobs retained in Montgomery County.

Projects have ranged from convincing General Motors to expand its Truck and Bus Plant in Moraine

rather than move it to Louisiana or New Jersey (65 new jobs, 3,500 retained jobs) to converting an abandoned department store in Kettering into a Victoria's Secret phone-order center (1,000 new jobs).

The tax-sharing is more "symbolic," in the words of one proponent. No more than 13% of the growth in any municipality's property and income tax revenues is pooled. Only about \$600,000 a year has been shared among local governments.

Collaboration has grown beyond the crucial issue of economic development. With an annual allocation of \$1 million in county sales tax funds, the Affordable Housing Fund has leveraged \$4 million into \$44 million of private mortgage commitments and renovation loans.

With another \$1 million annual allocation, the Montgomery County Regional Arts and Cultural District has provided \$3 million in annual support for the Dayton Philharmonic, the Museum of Natural History, and

12 other arts and cultural organizations. The District made over 100 small, one-time grants as seed money, and leveraged \$2 million into a new \$8.5 million Metropolitan Arts center in Dayton. An independent evaluation calculated that the District's first \$6.4 million investment had an aggregate impact of \$21.3 million on the local economy.

"The key is having elected officials with vision and political courage," county administrator Don Vermillion observed. "We've had six different commissioners since ED/GE began. Majority control has shifted from Democrats to Republicans. We've had several tough fiscal years.

"But all the commissioners have stuck by ED/GE, the affordable housing fund, the regional arts fund. 'We've seen our larger community improve as a result of working together rather than working against each other,' they've said. 'We're going to keep on with these collective efforts.'"

City loses economically as other regions grow

Continued from previous page

outside the county. Many workers from outside the area are moving in, particularly into southern York County.

Most of the county has experienced steady growth in population, and more significantly, in total households.

Overall, the total number of households in York County grew 46% percent between 1970-90. The greatest growth rates were experienced by suburban Central York (49%), York-Baltimore (86%), and York-Harrisburg (88%).

By contrast, York City lost 16% of both population and households. Mere population loss often represents merely a population aging in place. Loss of total households is a sign of abandonment by middle-class residents in the face of growing poverty in city neighborhoods.

With general prosperity, the average York County household's inflation-

adjusted income rose 19% from 1970-90.

Even in York City, the average household's inflation-adjusted income rose a very modest 6%.

Combining 46% growth in total households with 19% growth in real household income produced an impressive 74% growth in York County's total buying power over the two decades. By 1990, before-tax buying power in York County was approaching \$5 billion.

The greatest rates of growth in total household buying power were recorded by York-Harrisburg (127%) and York-Baltimore (148%), whose buying power more than doubled. Suburban Central York also registered impressive growth (70%). At \$2.9 billion suburban central York accounted for almost 60% of the county's total household income.

As would be expected from its 16% loss of households and stagnant household income, York City lost 10% of its total household income.

In other words, city merchants dependent on local residents experienced a 10 percent reduction in their potential market.

This loss of buying power was further evidence of the concentration of poverty within York City. Overall, during the two decades, York County's overall poverty level was a stable 6%. With suburbanization of York City's middle class and in-migration of new, employed households elsewhere, poverty rates declined in every sub-area of York County except York City. Outside of York City, the poverty rates ranged from 3.6% (York-Harrisburg) to 5.3% (York-Hanover).

However, within York City, the poverty rate marched steadily upward from 14.7 percent in 1970 to 17.2 percent in 1980 to 20.3 percent in 1990.

York City, the region's signature community, slid deeper and deeper into decline.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE POLICIES

First, the York area's leadership must recognize the political implications of the Four York Counties. There are few economic ties between three of the four sub-regions and York City. This is particularly true regarding York City's role as employment center. Very few residents of York-Hanover (2.8%), York-Harrisburg (4.5%), and York-Baltimore (5.4%) work in York City. One suspects that similarly small percentages come to York City for shopping, entertainment, or other purposes (except, possibly, health services). Residents of the three sub-regions understandably feel little affected by York City's decline.

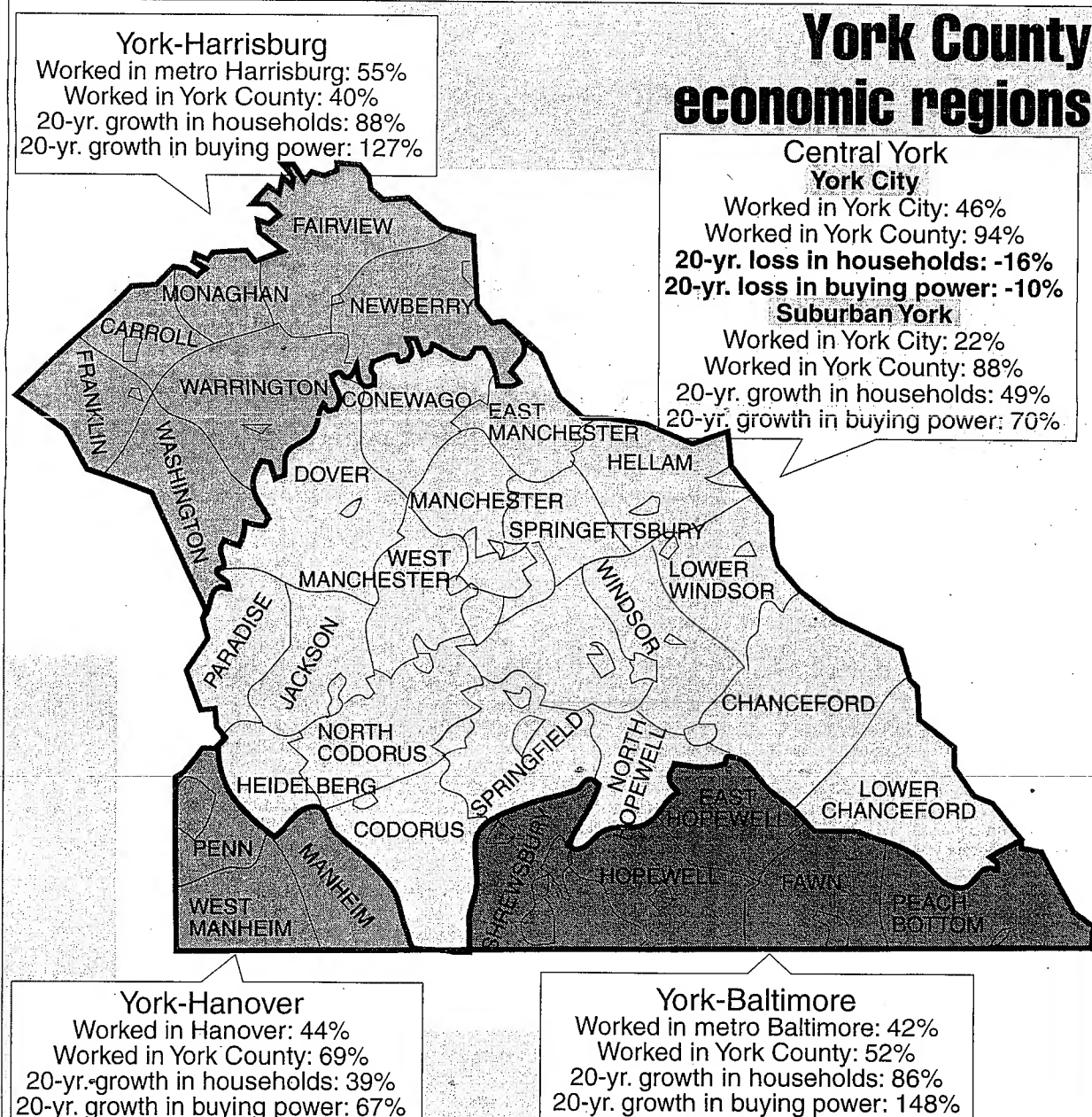
Second, York County's economic future is increasingly controlled by events outside its borders. The highest rates of growth in households and buying power are occurring in York-Harrisburg and York-Baltimore. Increasingly, their residents depend on out-of-county employers. Of course, more out-of-county commuters is evidence of York County's greater economic integration into larger markets. Another sign is growing absentee ownership of major York County employers. Economic globalization presents both opportunity and peril. It expands access to jobs and capital for county residents. But it means that more and more crucial decisions about York County's economic future are made by decision-makers without community roots.

Third, uneven economic growth, growing income gaps, and diverging poverty rates mean growing fiscal disparities among different communities (see pages 18-19). In "big box" regions, geographically inclusive governments like Charlotte, Indianapolis, or Nashville act as internal revenue-sharing mechanisms. They can translate taxes from wealthy neighborhoods into services for poorer neighborhoods.

But, with its 72 municipalities, York County is a quintessential "little box" region. Uneven economic growth translates directly into greater fiscal disparities. Some borough, townships, and school district prosper, but other fall into fiscal crisis. The burdens of failure are greater than the benefits of success.

Finally, the future of York City is vital to the future of Central York. York City is still an important job center; 26% of central York residents work in the central city. City-based jobs are also many of the highest-paid jobs in Central York. It is vital that the communities of Central York "hang together" or they shall surely "hang separately."

York County economic regions



Source: Rusk report
 DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

How sprawl changes York's landscape

Here's a way to get a scenic overview of land use trends in York County. You don't have to drive around or hire a plane to fly over the county. Just look at the two maps on these two pages.

The first map shows the status of land use in York County around 1960. The concentrated darker areas show urban-type development. Urban development is still relatively compact and focused on York City, Hanover Borough, their immediate suburban townships, and on crossroads boroughs scattered around the county.

All the white areas are farmland or woods, forests, and park lands. Now look at the second map. This is a picture of land use 1990-style. The dark splotches have spread out like giant amoebas across the face of York County. The white areas — which are really green areas — have shrunk dramatically.

These 30 years marked the real coming of suburban sprawl to York County. The York County Planning Commission's *Growth Trends* further dramatizes the story.

In 1960, there were 408,200 acres of farmland in York County. Farmland comprised 70% of all county land. By 1992, there were 252,052 acres of farmland, now totaling only 43% of all county land.

In short, in just three short decades almost 30% of York County's farmland was lost. Sometime between 1982 and 1987 farmland in York County went from majority to minority position. In 1960 the farmland/nonfarmland split was 70%/30%; by 1992 the split had reversed to 43%/57%.

The Planning Commission projects that, if current trends continue, in 25 years the total percentage of farmland in York County may be less than 20%.

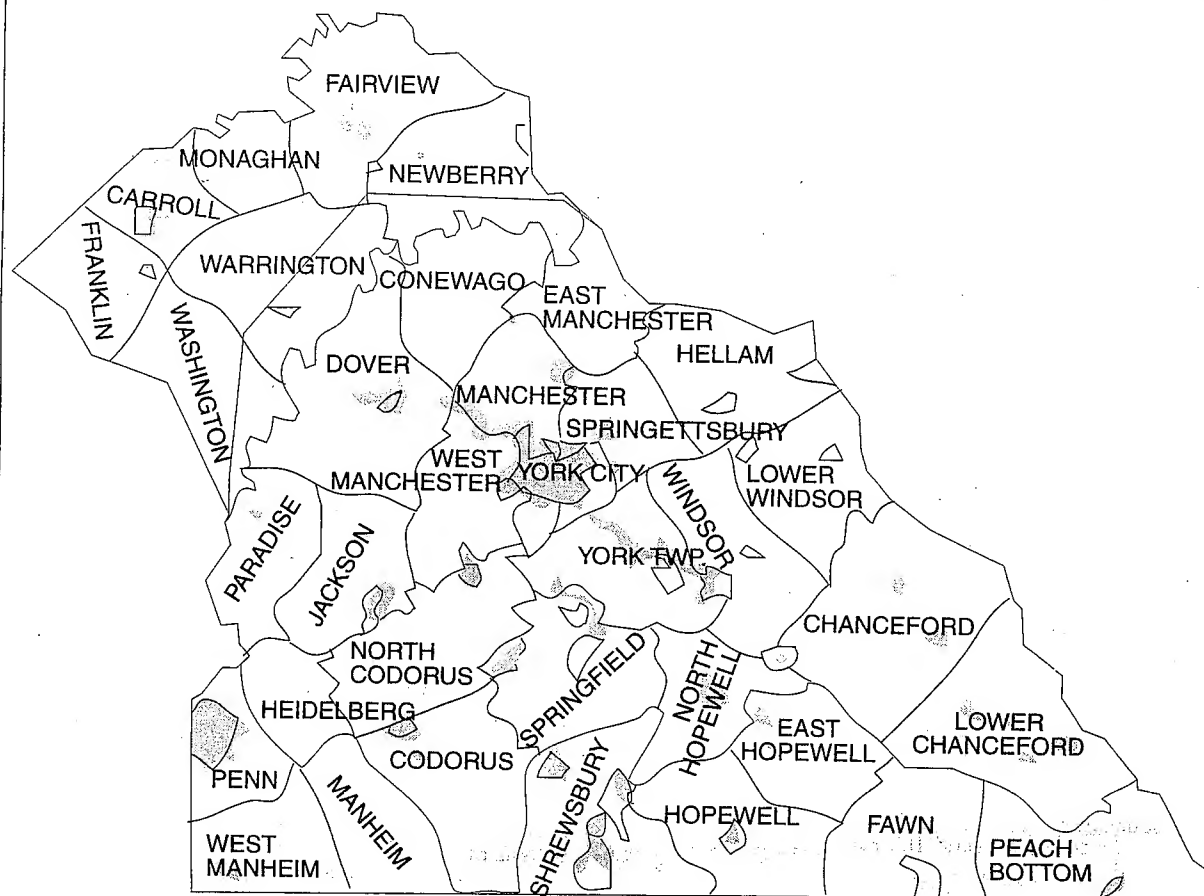
Why should you, the reader, care? Well, put this report down and go out to drive around the county. Block out all the farm and open space that remains. Look at what has really been built over the last three decades. Do you like what you see? Now imagine that same type of development crawling from horizon to horizon.

There's a reason why one of the most powerful battle cries in environmentally conscious Oregon is "Don't Californicate Oregon!" York County may be just too far from Los Angeles County, for example, to understand what future these development trends forebode.

But perhaps you may not like what you see but are comfortable with your piece of the suburban dream. A nice house on a big lot in a new subdivision, a safe community, a good school, shopping a mile or two down the road, a 20-minute commute to work.

But what you have today won't last under the impact of current growth trends. The scenic view from your window will disappear as the new subdivision built paves over the cornfield. The handy hardware store just down the road may succumb to the competition of a "big box" Home Depot 15 miles away. Your commute to work stretches to 45 minutes each way as the roads clog with more and more traffic.

1960 Highest concentrations of population and commercial activity



Source: Rusk report

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

There's even a touch of smog most mornings in York County's air.

Growth is good. Around this country communities are better off with some growth than no growth. But York County isn't "growing smart."

There are other reasons for being concerned about suburban sprawl than just the erosion of your personal quality of life.

Let's talk about farming. Farming has always been important to York County's economy. Farming isn't as important in York County as in Lancaster County, whose agricultural production exceeds 13 entire states, including New Jersey, "the Garden State." But in 1992 the market value of York County's farm production was \$120 million. Though eighth in overall production in Pennsylvania, York County ranked 1st in wheat, soybeans, and barley; 2nd in feed corn; 3rd in fruit, nuts, and berries; 4th in hog and pigs; and 5th in cattle, calves, and poultry. That's a lot of food — and a lot of income for county residents.

Some farmers are ready to quit farming. Farming is a tough, demanding business. Some see sub-dividing their farm as their retirement plan.

But most York County farmers want

to farm, and want to be able to buy more farmland at farmland values rather than compete with potential subdivision values.

Or let's talk about the value of your own property. Uncontrolled sprawl tends to build more than a community needs. Over the two decades from 1970-90 another 40,294 households were formed in York County. But private developers built 50,827 new homes and apartments. That's 25% more than the market needed.

That's not as bad an imbalance as occurred in many metro areas, but it has its adverse consequences. The new always sells, and, as buyers move up to the next house, they vacate the old.

Some other buyer steps into the house just vacated. That's the American way.

But when the private market is building 25% more new housing than new households, someone gets stuck with the bill. That someone is almost always homeowners and apartment owners of older housing in older communities. Some homes and apartments are rendered almost economically valueless. York City homeowners, Hanover homeowners, Red Lion homeowners have paid

sprawl's bill over the last three decades. Their property has been systematically devalued.

That process will reach out to devalue property in older townships in York County soon. (It has in many older, inner-ring suburbs elsewhere.) It will happen unless sprawling development patterns and excess construction are brought under control.

How many larger land owners are there seeking to sub-divide their land in York County? That's not known. What is a fact is that there are 95,000 current homeowners in York County. Their property rights must be given weight as well when the property rights of potential sub-dividers are being considered.

Then there's the issue of the costs of sprawl. Suburban sprawl hikes the public costs of building new roads, water and sewer lines, fire houses and schools (when new subdivisions are far from existing fire houses and schools).

The chart on the next page summarizes the difference in costs. A "single-family conventional subdivision" has individual homes widely scattered along suburban streets. A "single family cluster subdivision"

See next page

Public costs zooms as housing spreads

Continued from previous page

brings the same number of single family homes closer together, preserving the rest of the land as open area and play space. Providing facilities for the cluster subdivision costs only 71% as much as for the same number of homes in the conventional subdivision.

The saving become even more dramatic for townhouse clusters (43%) and garden apartments (30%). But most likely the desired mode of development would be the mixed residential subdivision, where facilities costs are 52% of conventional subdivision.

"Mixed residential subdivision." That describes how Pennsylvanians used to develop their historic cities and boroughs. In most communities current zoning codes would not even allow building anew what were wonderful, livable communities. Prevailing zoning and building codes are based on the premise that a big house sitting on a big lot is a suitable substitute for a real neighborhood.

The biggest cost of suburban sprawl, however, is how the typical American family spends 20% of its income day in, day out on the family automobile(s).

Sound impossible? The American Automobile Association estimates that every registered vehicle in America is driven an average of 12,000 miles per year. American families average just about two cars per family. That's 24,000 miles per year. The Internal Revenue Service allows business drivers to claim a deduction of 31 cents per mile as the true cost of a car. That's \$7,440 dollars a year spent on the family cars. In 1990 the average York County family's income was \$37,590. Divide \$37,590 by \$7,440 equals 19.8%.

Transportation problems don't have transportation solutions. They have land use solutions.

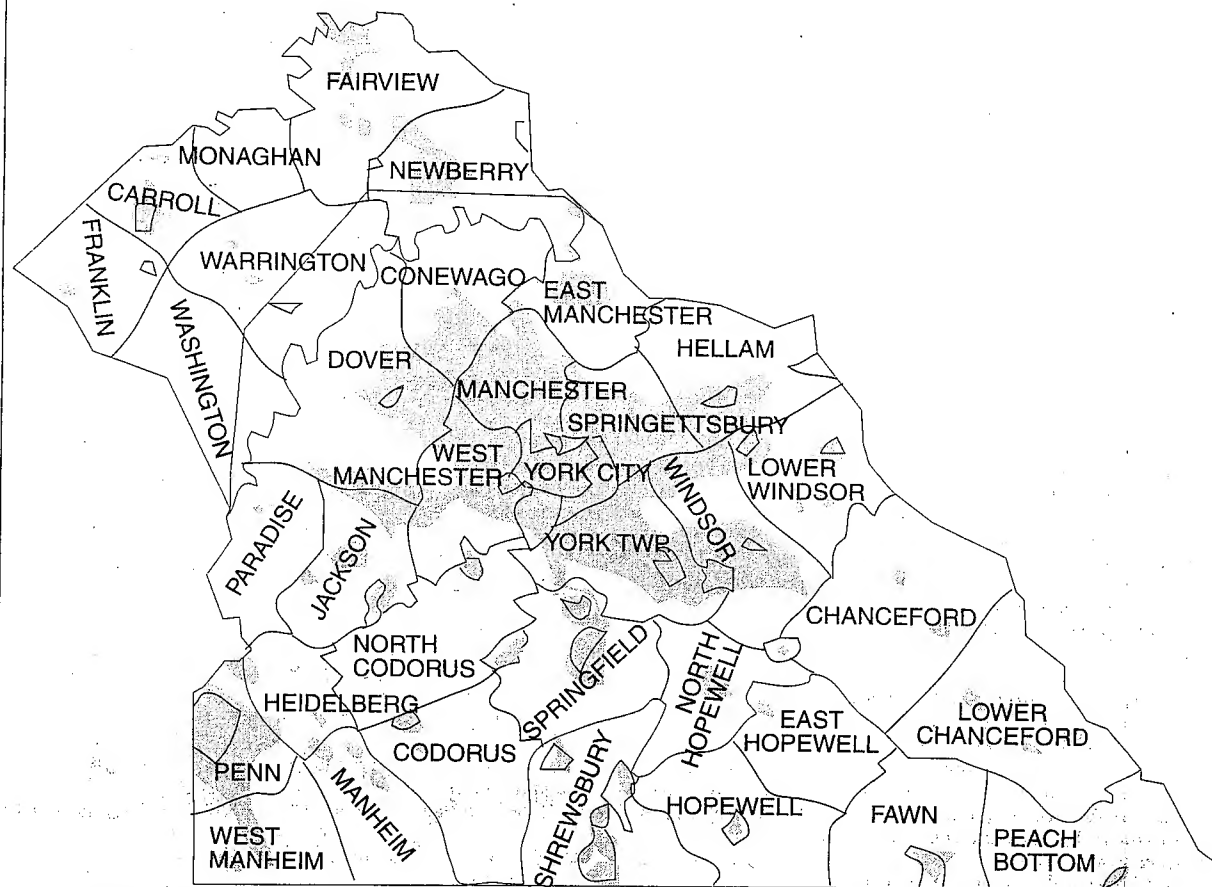
Return to the beleaguered farmer. With help from state law, York County has taken some steps to help preserve more farmland. The York County Agricultural Land Preservation Board receives an appropriation of \$800,000 per year from the County Commission. Matched with state funds, the Board has purchased agricultural easements from 29 farms, preserving 7,582 acres of farmland forever.

Another private organization, the York County Farm and Natural Lands Trust, has received federal tax law-induced donations of development rights covering several thousand more acres. Some townships zone land for agricultural use. Typically, though, agricultural areas are zoned for 1-, 2-, or 5-acre lots, which have nothing to do with farmland preservation and everything to do with sprawling development of high-priced new homes.

Despite these efforts, over a recent 5-year period 26,187 acres of farmland were lost for 8,700 acres preserved.

Without comprehensive land use planning and growth management, York County is losing farmland at three times the rate of farmland preservation — and its not just the lifestyles of farmers that are being affected.

1990 Highest concentrations of population and commercial activity



Source: Rusk report

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

Suburban sprawl hikes public costs

For every \$100 of conventional site improvements, other sites cost less.

	Single family conventional subdivision	Single family cluster subdivision	Cluster townhouse	Garden apartments	Mixed residential subdivision
Streets	\$100	\$86	\$69	\$48	\$67
Sewers	100	66	42	25	47
Drainage	100	67	45	29	52
Water	100	66	43	30	52
Gas	100	66	42	33	52
Electric	100	66	42	25	47
Utility hook-ups	100	88	50	17	54
Parking, paving	100	77	33	46	60
Landscaping	100	57	24	17	41

Total average site improvements \$100 \$71 \$43 \$30 \$52

Source: Lancaster planning commission

York County is losing farmland at three times the rate of farmland preservation.

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

State should strengthen planning

■ State laws on land-use planning are so irrational, they're counterproductive.

How does York County, an area of 339,574 residents spread across 905 square miles, plan for its future growth? How is some coherence brought to regional development with 72 fiercely independent cities, boroughs, and townships all guarding their turf? Throughout two-thirds of the USA, primarily in southern and western states, urban areas have relatively fewer, and larger, local governments. City governments use annexation powers to bring land for new subdivisions, shopping centers, office and industrial parks within their municipal boundaries. Many city governments even have extra-territorial planning powers. Some can control private development up to five miles outside city limits.

Outside the relatively few, but expanding municipalities, lie vast stretches of unincorporated territory. County government is the only local government for unincorporated areas. In most states county governments' powers have been expanded to include land use planning and zoning.

For example, metro Albuquerque, New Mexico lies within the 1,166 square mile Bernalillo County. Over 50 years the county's population grew from 69,391 (1940) to 480,577 (1990). But Albuquerque extended its city limits constantly as the area grew. Just 3 square miles in 1940, the city of Albuquerque embraced 132 square miles, 384,736 residents, and over 80% of the region's tax base by 1990. With just two other tiny municipalities in the area, Albuquerque city government and Bernalillo County government call the tune on development. Two decades ago, they jointly adopted a comprehensive land use plan. Though there are separate city and county planning commissions, for many years staff were shared. (Memphis-Shelby County, TN and Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, NC have joint planning commissions and joint planning staffs.)

Some may criticize the result.

(Many Albuquerque residents do.) But despite its post-war, automobile era-style, Albuquerque has developed more compactly than most suburban areas in the Northeast and Middle West. And there's no local criticism at all of Albuquerque's open space program. Over the past two decades, with constant voter support, Albuquerque spent \$44 million to acquire 22,000 acres of scenic mountain and volcano lands.

The Pennsylvania General Assembly itself could undertake a sweeping consolidation of local governments. Under the U.S. constitution, state governments have broad powers over how local governments are organized. With no greater constitutional authority than American state legislatures, Canadian provincial parliaments regularly up-date local governance systems. But sweeping changes in Pennsylvania's local government structure would be revolutionary indeed. In 1777, York City offered a safe haven for a Continental Congress driven out of Philadelphia by the British. Would York City be a safe haven again for another revolutionary legislature if it had to flee Harrisburg? It's doubtful.

So York County will not see highly unified, Sunbelt-style government. The challenge is to find ways in which 72 local governments can learn to act as one on key regional issues like land use planning.

For help, we should turn to state law. But Pennsylvania state laws regarding land use planning are so irrational, they are counterproductive.

■ Example: State law requires county governments to adopt comprehensive land use plans, but nobody need follow them. There's not a single square foot of York County where the York County Comprehensive Plan is law. County planning commissions have the responsibility to plan, but absolutely no authority to implement their plans.

■ Example: State law encourages municipalities to adopt land use plans. Within their jurisdictions municipalities do have adequate authority. But the

state Municipalities Planning Code issues a specific disclaimer (section 303c) that municipalities do not have to follow their own adopted plans. There is no requirement that zoning codes must conform to land use plans nor do local officials have to adhere to adopted plans in considering individual zoning requests.

■ Example: PennDOT's road and highway construction or the Department of Environmental Protection's grants for sewer line extensions and treatment plants (Act 537) have tremendous impact on land development patterns. State agencies, however, don't have to pay any attention to local plans.

As one veteran of Pennsylvania's planning wars told us, "The really important land use decisions are increasingly made by state bureaucrats in Harrisburg. PennDOT scatters highway occupancy permits around like pieces of candy. Through requiring sewer systems for some rural communities, DEP throws open farm land for more sprawl. DEP's now seeking control over community water systems."

Is this a case of "divide and conquer"? Does such a system of highly fragmented local governments, allowing no one to really be in charge locally, let power flow into the hands of state bureaucrats?

With all current state laws' inadequacies, much can still be accomplished locally. Through diplomacy and determined effort, the Lancaster County Planning Commission has brought many boroughs and townships together into land use compacts (see box). York County's planners are experienced and competent. With strong political backing, York County might achieve similar good results.

There are many piecemeal amendments to the Pennsylvania Municipalities Planning Code (Act 247) which the legislature should adopt. Among key provisions would be:

■ Require municipal officials to follow their own land use plans by deleting Section 303(c) and requiring conformance of local zoning to local plans;

■ Give county plans responsibility

for siting major highways and other facilities of regional significance;

■ Require consistency between county plans and local plans;

■ Provide state incentive funds for counties and municipalities to enter into multi-municipal land use compacts (like Lancaster County's);

■ Make such compacts, once adopted through appropriate voluntary processes, legally binding on both municipalities and developers; and

■ Require state agency plans to conform to county or multi-municipal plans when local plans adequately reflect state policies.

Amending current state law would greatly improve land use planning, but piecemeal changes would still leave Pennsylvania with a Rube Goldberg set of land use statutes.

What is really needed is a comprehensive, state-wide land use act like Oregon's (see box). Such a state law would require every county and municipality to adopt a comprehensive plan, designating both urban growth boundaries and agricultural preserve areas. It would set a range of state standards to be met, and provide a state commission to review local plans for conformance with state standards. If Oregon's law sounds like a recipe for state government dominance, it is not. What Oregon law accomplishes is to put local officials clearly in charge. When citizens know who's in charge, they can get involved easier.

That's especially true in the Portland area, where more votes are cast to elect the regional government's "Executive Officer" than for any other official except Oregon's governor. Land use policy becomes the issue in Portland Metro elections. The level of citizen involvement and accountability on land use issues is greater in metro Portland than in any other region of the country.

If York County — and all of Pennsylvania — are going to control sprawl, zoning and planning issues must emerge from the shadowy corridors of bureaucratic planning and special-interest politics into the full light of public debate. And there must be a mechanism — probably York County government — for pulling the county's 72 "little boxes" together to act for the benefit of all.

Townships further fragment governance issues

From Maine to North Dakota, a northern tier of 20 states has an additional level of local government beyond counties and municipalities. They are towns and townships — some 16,666 of them. In fact, in almost all these states the map is completely divided up among townships and municipalities. There are, in effect, no "unincorporated areas" dependent on county government for general governmental services.

In New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania townships have relatively broad powers and perform functions similar to municipalities.

Midwestern townships historically have performed more limited functions, but as urban sprawl spreads, many formerly rural townships are increasingly expected to provide many municipal-type services.

It was the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation which legislated a system of townships for the Midwest. The Land Ordinance of 1785 required that the Northwest Territories be surveyed and divided into townships each six miles square. As the different territories (Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, etc.) became states, their constitutions converted

"Congressional townships" into actual local units of government.

Whatever townships' value in civilizing the 19th century frontier, on the threshold of the 21st century the overall effect is the atomization of local government throughout the Northern Tier. Connecticut has 169 towns and cities — an average of one local government for every 19,400 residents. But with 2,636 local general governments, Pennsylvania has one for every 4,600 residents, and with 2,745 local general governments. With 102 counties, 1,282 municipalities, and 1,433 townships (not to mention its 997

independent school districts and another 2,995 special districts), Illinois is the champion of micro-government.

The New England town meeting is enshrined in the American myth, and the National Association of Towns and Townships proudly proclaims itself the champion of "hometown government." The Northern Tier, however, embraces most of the most racially and economically segregated metro areas in the nation, and local communities' ability to compete economically is constantly constrained by the absence of governance structures to pull together regional resources.

How Portland controls growth

Working farms just seven miles from downtown; voter-approved bonds for extending light rail lines (\$445 million) and buying open space (\$138 million); \$11 billion in new, high-tech, private investment; home values doubling in former slums — what in the world is happening in Portland, Oregon?

What's happening is Portlanders are taming suburban sprawl.

Oregon's State-wide Land Use Planning Act gives local citizens the tools to shape a different — and better — future.

Enacted in 1973, the state law requires every Oregon county and municipality to adopt a comprehensive land use plan. Every municipality must also draw an Urban Growth Boundary.

Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs) must accommodate new homes, offices, factories, and shopping areas projected for the next 20 years.

But outside UGBs land is zoned for "exclusive farm use" or "exclusive forest use." No new water or sewer lines, no new four lane roads, no new houses on 1-, 2-, or 5-acre lots. In Oregon, farms begin at city limits.

The Portland region is big (1.4 million residents), wide (3,743 square miles), and complex (3 counties, 24 municipalities). To address regional needs, the state legislature authorized — and local voters approved — Portland Metro, a regional government.

Portland Metro runs the Washington Park Zoo, Oregon Convention Center, and regional land fills. Its primary task, however, — emphasized by its voter-approved home rule charter — is regional land use planning.

And the citizens elect the planners. Metro is governed by a 7-member

Metro Council, elected from 7 districts, and an elected Executive Officer.

The UGB's anti-sprawl impact was immediate. From 1980-90, the Portland area's urbanized population grew 14% but urbanized land expanded only 11%. The Portland area is becoming more densely developed by popular demand.

Revisiting the UGB, Portland Metro has held 182 public meetings recently, distributed 550,000 copies of alternative plans, and circulated explanatory videos to 17,000 households.

To accommodate a projected 20% population growth, UGB-expansion advocates propose adding just 4-5% more land — but all 24 local municipalities testified for zero UGB expansion.

Rebounding from a forest industry slump, Portland is booming. High-tech manufacturers like Intel and Sumitomo are drawn by the area's high quality of life (good for recruiting highly skilled professionals) and fast-track methods (guaranteed, controversy-free, 120-day processing of all plans and permits within UGBs).

With 60% of all commuters and visitors arriving by bus and light rail, Downtown Portland is thriving. Four department stores anchor Downtown's retail sector.

Through private reinvestment, in just the last five years property values in Albina — Portland's poorest district — have doubled to \$2.6 billion.

"Two sentences express our region's strategic vision," explains Mike Burton, Metro's elected Executive Officer.

"First, everyone will always be able to see Mt. Hood. Second, every child can always walk to a library."

How Lancaster controls growth

During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, suburban sprawl moved across the face of Lancaster County's fertile and picturesque farm land.

In those three decades, the USA's most productive agricultural county lost 92,500 acres of farm land, or approximately 8 acres per day, to low-density sub-divisions, shopping centers, plant sites — and to hundreds and hundreds of acres of asphalt parking lots.

During the 1980s alone, sprawling development patterns consumed 77 square miles of farm land to house an additional 60,000 residents of Lancaster County. That's 10 times as much land as used for 60,000 residents of Lancaster City during 270 years.

Lancaster County's stretch of US 30 is as much of a mess as York County's portion. But something different is really happening now in Lancaster County — and York County can learn from its neighbor.

During the 1990s, comprehensive land use planning and growth management, not suburban sprawl, are moving across the county's face.

Manheim, Strasburg, Ephrata, and 19 other townships have adopted land use plans and drawn Urban Growth Boundaries. Each plan is coordinated with its neighboring townships and boroughs.

Rural Drumore, Fulton, Little Britain, and a half dozen other townships have drawn Village Growth Boundaries to keep crossroads communities from spreading out into the countryside.

Lancaster City, Columbia, Mount Joy, and other boroughs have officially adopted density-increasing population targets and endorsed the townships' UGBs.

The county's comprehensive plan

projects 122,000 more residents by the year 2010. Adopted Urban Growth Boundaries would allow another 35 square miles of urban development ... at most. That's twice the rate of population growth at half the rate of land development experienced in the 1980s.

The comprehensive plan would preserve 86% of Lancaster County's acreage as farm land and resource conservation and preservation areas. Another 11,000 acres of parks and natural areas would be protected within Urban Growth Boundaries.

It all adds up to the USA's most extensive, *voluntary*, growth management program. Why did it happen in Lancaster County?

Nowhere in the nation is preserving farm land a more powerful community value — literally, a religious commitment for Plain Sect residents — than in Lancaster County. The Lancaster County Agricultural Preserve Board reports over 22,000 acres in 264 farms are covered by perpetual conservation easements. In addition, 39 of 41 townships have placed 320,000 acres under "effective agricultural zoning." This allows only one building lot for every 25 to 50 acres to be subdivided off a farm.

Strong political support from the County Commission and planning commissioners has been vital. It has encouraged an energetic county planning staff to work for township officials' confidence. This has led to unparalleled cooperation on land use planning.

"What we've achieved has been in spite of Pennsylvania's laws," notes Ron Bailey, county planner. "Ultimately, we cannot preserve farm land unless we change suburban development patterns."

EIGHT REASONS TO LIKE URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARIES

- 1 Pro-industry:** Within UGBs, state law guarantees new industries controversy-free, fast-track processing of all plans and permits.
- 2 Pro-farming:** Outside UGB's, farmers buy new land at farm land, not potential sub-division, prices.
- 3 Pro-redevelopment:** By refocusing growth inward, UGBs discourage abandonment of older neighborhoods and

shopping areas, promote reinvestment.

- 4 Pro-taxpayer:** Higher density development saves taxpayer dollars for new roads, water and sewer extensions, schools, fire stations, and other public facilities.

- 5 Pro-homebuyer:** Smaller lot sizes reduce housing prices through lower land costs and development fees.

- 6 Pro-environment:** UGBs protect natural

areas, farm land.

- 7 Pro-energy conservation:**

Controlling sprawl, UGBs reduce automobile dependence and gasoline consumption, promote public transportation.

- 8 Pro-property rights:** UGBs limit land speculation and over-building, protect existing residential and commercial property owners' investment.

An exciting scenario exists for York

Many York suburbanites drive through York City's oldest streets — Philadelphia, Duke, George, Queen, and others — as fast as they can. They see such streets as dangerous slums to be traversed as fast as possible. City traffic engineers and state highway officials have made that easy. Once graceful residential and commercial streets have been turned into high speed racetracks. Despite its brick sidewalks and trees, even one-way Market Street sends a message: "Better be on your way. Don't stop and stay a while."

James Rouse, father of Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Inner Harbor, and scores of other urban rejuvenation projects, saw something different. Before he died earlier this year, he had visited York City several times. His Enterprise Foundation helped found the Crispus Attucks Community Development Corporation.

Rouse saw an historic city that had retained the fabric of its 18th and 19th century neighborhoods perhaps more than any other. He saw a community with a special genuineness that no "New Urbanist" architect could duplicate. Among so much suburban sameness across the late-20th century American landscape, he saw a city with great potential to be another magnet for high-income professionals looking for a distinctive place to live.

James Rouse saw, in short, that historic York City could be the region's greatest asset.

So do we.

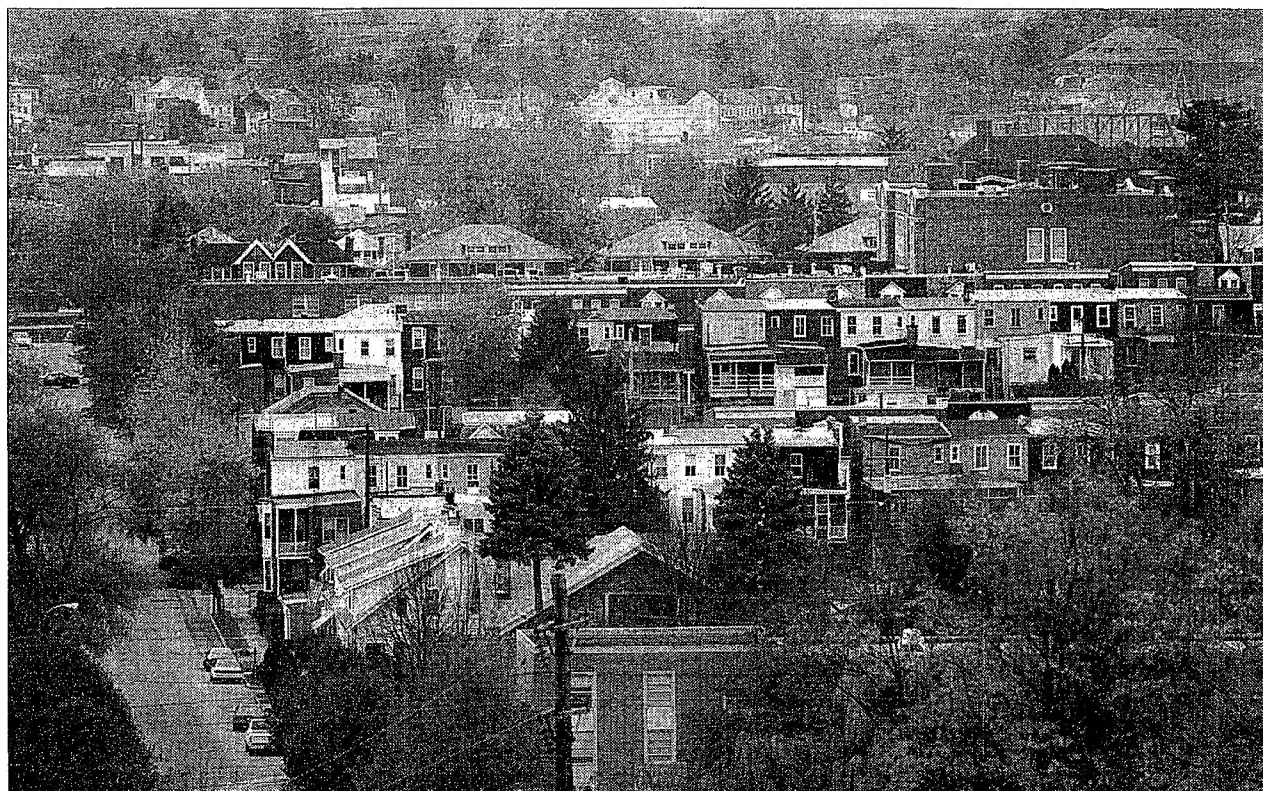
To many York County residents that statement may seem absurd. Old timers may remember York City's better days, and, with sadness, see now only poverty and decay. Most recent arrivals shun York City's mean streets, antiquated row houses, and poverty-impacted schools for more conventional environs. The split-level house on the suburban cul-de-sac, with schools, shopping centers, churches, parks, office or factory *always* an auto ride away.

You have to have lived in or visited Baltimore's Otterbein, Federal Hill, or Fell's Point, Washington, DC's Georgetown, DuPont Circle, or Capitol Hill, Old Town Alexandria, Frederick MD or Fredericksburg VA, Annapolis, Charleston, Savannah, Columbus OH's German Village, Dayton's Oregon District, St. Louis' Market East, Santa Fe — the list goes on and on — in order to understand York City's potential.

And you have to know the history of these special places to know that, just a few decades earlier, they were all much like York City's poverty-impacted neighborhoods today.

Let's take Old Town Alexandria. Go back just 30-35 years. Old Town Alexandria's waterfront was still a declining industrial center and river port. It had an actual torpedo factory, an old cement plant, a fertilizer plant, several metal fabricators, many old warehouses, and a rendering plant (which threw off a more pungent odor than P. H. Glatfelter's neighbors in Spring Grove Borough ever had to contend with.)

There were just a handful of stores and shops along King Street. Old Town's



The neighborhood around York College has been a source of tension in recent years, involving parking congestion and the intensive conversion of some homes into student apartments. Yet it has great potential as a mixed-use neighborhood of small retail businesses, single-family homes and some rental properties.

Old Town Alexandria

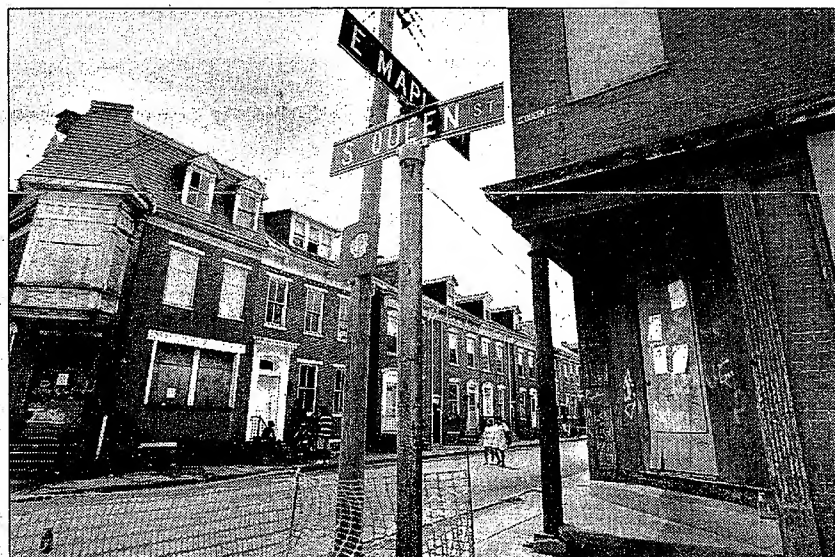
An Historic Revival

Category	1970	1980	1990
Average Household Income	\$9,157	\$30,156	\$81,000
As Pct of Alexandria City Average	85%	119%	154%
As Pct of Metro Washington Average	103%	108%	143%
Average Home Value	na	na	\$404,865
As Pct of Metro Washington Value	107%	126%	202%

...historic York City could be the region's greatest asset.

rough streets (some still had unwanted cobblestones) were lined with what one local planner still characterizes as "really sub-standard housing, if you think about it by today's standards."

Today Old Town Alexandria is probably the Washington area's strongest retail center outside of conventional mega-malls like Tyson's Corner. In 1982 state liquor law reform



Once you're at the corner of South Queen and East Maple streets, you're in the heart of one of York's pockets of high crime and poverty. Even here, it doesn't take much of a squint to see what these beautiful old row homes could become.

generated an explosion of restaurants and watering holes.

And what about that old, substandard housing? Let's track the value of the homes and the incomes of the people who came to live in them (see box).

By 1970 Old Town Alexandria's revival was already picking up steam, yet the average Old Town household's income was barely equal to metro Washington's average. During the next 20 years, Old Town residents' incomes jumped to 43% above the metro Washington average — and from 15%

below to 54% above the city of Alexandria's average household income.

That spectacular reversal isn't primarily long-time residents suddenly getting much richer. It's the result of high-income, professional households moving in.

And owner-occupied home values soared from 107% of metro Washington's average value to 202% of the region's average value in just 20 years. Catching Old Town Alexandria's home values from an earlier period

See next page

Alexandria offers a vision of what can be

Continued from previous page

before regentrification had begun would show even more spectacular results.

Once again the increase in home prices wasn't just historic houses appreciating. New, architecturally-compatible townhouses and condominiums were being built. In fact, 1,228 new housing units — a 26% increase in housing stock — were constructed during the two decades.

Many were also rental units. In fact, two-thirds of Old Town's residents are renters. Yet average monthly rents ranged from \$621 to \$985 — generally well above the metro average rent of \$634 per month.

But isn't Old Town Alexandria special, located just 8 miles from the White House (and even closer in travel time by Metro)? Old Town Alexandria is a central part of a 4 million person Washington, D.C. region, one of the nation's wealthiest metro areas.

Then let's take Fredericksburg, VA, as another example. Site of a bloody Civil War battle, Fredericksburg is very much a peripheral part of metro Washington. Fredericksburg lies 50 miles from the White House — 10 miles farther than York City is from Downtown Baltimore and much farther in commuting time. Yet there are sufficient daily commuters into the Nation's capital that the Virginia Railway Express originates its daily commuter trains in Fredericksburg.

Sprawl finally hit historic Fredericksburg in the late 1960s when new shopping centers began popping up along I-95 between Washington and Richmond. In developing revitalization strategies, city officials decided to emphasize Fredericksburg's historic character. In 1971, most of the downtown was designated as a national historic district. City government aggressively promoted tourism, created a tax exemption program for rehabilitated properties, and invested in downtown improvements.

During an 8-year period (1982-89) 777 rehabilitation projects totaling \$12.7 million were undertaken in the historic district. Of these projects, 390 were residential and 387 were commercial.

The impact was spectacular. Between 1971 and 1990 the real value of residential property in the historic district increased 200% (adjusted for inflation), while residential properties located elsewhere in the city increased 121% in real value. In 1971, the average residential property value in the historic district was 105% of residential property value in the rest of the city. By 1990, the average value of an historic district home had risen to \$138,697 — 159% of average home values outside the historic district.

Commercial property inside Fredericksburg's historic downtown showed similar increases. From 1971-90 historic zone commercial property escalated 142% in real value (adjusted for inflation) versus an 83% increase for non-historic zone commercial property.

Contrast the stories of Alexandria and Fredericksburg to the fate of York City's most historic neighborhoods: census tracts 1, 2 and 7 as shown in the map on page 16.



This prosperous street in Old Town Alexandria, Va., has housing stock similar to block after block in York. The difference is that Alexandria has successfully made the transition from a declining industrial center to a thriving city that capitalizes on a rich history.



Pedestrians stroll past a restored alleyway in Old Town Alexandria, Va. While Alexandria's proximity to Washington has advantages, its revitalization provides clues for York. It's hard to believe that in 1950, the average income of York City residents exceeded the county average. Reversing four decades of decline won't be easy.

York struggles under yoke of segregation

Race is the underlying basis of high poverty neighborhoods in urban America.

America's 320 metropolitan areas housed almost as many poor whites as poor minorities combined. There were 10.8 million poor whites in 1990, but only 7.7% of all urban whites were poor.

Of 4.8 million poor Hispanics, almost one-quarter (24.5%) fell below the poverty line. The highest poverty rate was among urban blacks. Poor blacks numbered 6.9 million. Over one-quarter (27.5%) of all urban blacks were poor.

Yet being poor and white was usually very different from being poor and black or poor and Hispanic. Sociologists and demographers have long studied the impact of neighborhood environment on poverty levels. They've found that when around 20% or more of a neighborhood's residents are poor, negative "concentration effects" begin.

It's as if many poor households, highly stressed, are radioactive. Spread around among more stable, less radioactive households, they can deal better with their own problems. They aren't affected by their neighbors' problems as well.

But when many poor households are lumped together, a "critical mass" is created. As more "control rods" (stable, middle class households) are pulled out (move away), a chain reaction begins. Social meltdown — rising crime rates, higher levels of drug abuse and alcoholism, accelerated family breakdown, neighborhood deterioration — ignites. Bad neighborhoods destroy good people.

Three out of four poor whites in urban America do not live in poor neighborhoods. They live scattered in middle-class communities all over suburban America. Poor whites rarely live in critical mass conditions.

The reverse is true for poor minorities. Two out of three poor Hispanics and three out of four poor blacks live in poverty-impacted neighborhoods. Poor minorities almost always live in critical mass conditions.

The key is racial segregation. The civil rights movement overturned legal segregation a generation ago, but, in practical terms, segregation still pervades American life. Segregation is particularly strong in America's housing patterns. And, outside the South, segregated neighborhoods breed segregated schools.

In many good ways, York County is a special place. Regarding race, however, the York area isn't special at all.

The table on this page compares relative levels of housing and school segregation in metro York and its peer communities. The measure used is a common "unevenness index" which measures how lumped together a minority population is in neighborhoods or schools. A score of "0" would mean a mathematically even distribution of minorities among neighborhoods or schools. For metro York a "0" would mean there would be exactly 2.9% black residents or pupils in every neighborhood or school in metro York. On the other hand, a score of "100"

would mean absolute apartheid.

By this standard, metro York's neighborhoods scored 71, and metro York's schools scored 79. In 1990 metro York was more racially segregated than any of its peer communities except metro Harrisburg.

These weren't the nation's worst scores. Metro York's residential segregation levels weren't in the same league with metro areas like Philadelphia (77), Buffalo (82), Milwaukee (83), Cleveland (85), Chicago (86), or Detroit (88).

But metro York didn't even measure up to many of its peers — much less metro Charlotte (53), metro Norfolk-Virginia Beach (50), and metro Raleigh-Durham (48).

And the percentage of black residents in the region was unrelated statistically to the degree of segregation. African Americans were 20% of the regional population in both metro Charlotte and metro Detroit.

Metro Albuquerque (2.7% black) had almost the same black population as metro York (2.9% black). Yet with its metropolitan-wide school system and near-metropolitan city, the Albuquerque area provided greater social mobility.

1990 Racial segregation levels:

Metro York ranked 2nd highest in racial segregation of schools and neighborhoods.

Metropolitan area	Metro black population	Segregation index
		<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 10px; background-color: white; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></div> = School <div style="width: 20px; height: 10px; background-color: black; border: 1px solid black; margin-left: 10px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> = Housing </div>
Raleigh-Durham NC	24.9%	32 48
Wheeling WV-OH	2.0%	37 53
Wichita KS	7.6%	41 64
Appleton-Oshkosh WI	0.8%	42 na
Evansville IN-KY	5.8%	42 60
Altoona PA	0.3%	47 na
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton PA	1.8%	49 na
Canton OH	6.4%	56 62
National metro average	13.2%	58 63
Lancaster PA	2.4%	64 64
Huntington-Ashland WV-KY	2.2%	66 66
Reading PA	3.0%	68 63
Utica-Rome NY	4.4%	69 68
Erie PA	5.2%	77 65
Johnstown PA	1.6%	78 na
York PA	2.9%	79 71
Harrisburg PA	6.7%	82 76

Source: Rusk report na = not available

Note: A score of "100" means total apartheid.

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

Albuquerque had low segregation levels for neighborhoods (39) and schools (31).

Almost 82% of all York County's black residents and 63% of York County's Hispanic residents lived in York City in 1990. Poverty levels were high — 30% among city blacks and 60% among city Hispanics. Combined with a 14% poverty rate among the city's white residents, York City's overall poverty rate was 19.8%.

This was hardly the highest poverty rate among American cities. (The city of Detroit's poverty rate was 32%, for example.)

But York City carried one of the highest poverty burdens relative to its suburbs of any city in the country (see adjacent table). York City's "fair share of poverty index" was 317 — the 8th worst disproportionate poverty out of 522 central cities. York City took its place on the list with Camden, Hartford, and East St. Louis — all widely recognized as critically depressed communities.

The York area tracked national patterns in terms of poverty-impacted neighborhoods as well. In 1989 metro York had four times as many poor whites (21,421) as poor blacks (3,062)

and poor Hispanics (2,372) combined.

But only one out of 7 poor whites (14%) lived in poverty-impacted neighborhoods, while 60% of poor Hispanics and 69% of poor blacks lived in "critical mass" conditions.

Racial patterns in schools track housing patterns. This is particularly true when public education is highly fragmented into many small systems, and York County has 16 different school systems.

Many have characterized the York City District as a "poor" school system. Around the country that phrase often really means that a "poor" school system is a system with a lot of children from poor households.

That certainly holds true for York City District (see accompanying table). In the 1994-95 school year 66% of York City's pupils were poor enough to qualify for free or reduced price school lunches. The average for the other 15 school districts was 11.5%.

In fact, outside of York City District, York Haven Elementary School in the Northeastern York County School District had the highest percentage of free lunch pupils (31%). That was barely half the level of free lunch pupils in the Davis and Devers Schools, York City School District's least poverty-impacted elementary schools.

The issue isn't more money. The issue is concentrated poverty. When classrooms have 60%, 70%, 80% of their pupils from poor households, the children are bringing too many home and neighborhood problems into the classroom to allow much good teaching or good learning.

The key to improving inner-city education is end the isolation of poor children from middle-class children. On the next page is a summary of our study of the school performance of Albuquerque's poorest children. Being part of a middle-class community produced dramatic results (a 13 percentile leap in test scores).

How much progress was due to a better school, where a child spends 6 hours a day, 180 days a year? How much was due to a better neighborhood, where a child spends all the rest of the time? Our study couldn't answer that question. Good schools and good neighborhoods are mutually reinforcing.

It takes a school, a neighborhood, and, above all, a family to raise a child successfully. Two-parent, married couple families are best. In metro York (1990) 98% of white, married couples with children were not poor. Ninety (90%) of black, married couple families with children were not poor, as were 78% of Hispanic married couples with children.

By contrast, poverty rates were 25% for white single mothers, 51% for black single mothers, and 81% for Hispanic single mothers.

There's no mystery about what the most effective anti-poverty program is — the two-parent, often two-earner family. And despite the many single mothers successfully raising their children, the surest path to poverty is to be the child of a single mother.

See next page

'Bad neighborhoods destroy good people'

Continued from previous page

Family plus neighborhood plus school. When the family structure is weak, neighborhood and school must be stronger to compensate. But the York area operates in reverse.

York City had 9 "critical mass" neighborhoods where poverty rates exceeded 20% in 1989. In these poorest neighborhoods there were equal numbers of married couples raising children (1,395) and single mothers raising children (1,414). In all the rest of metro York (minus these nine neighborhoods) there were 7 times as many married couples as single mothers.

Contributing critically to the social imbalance of many poor neighborhoods was the impact of federally-supported public housing projects. The York Housing Authority is one of the country's more competent and innovative agencies. However, in recent decades, Congressional mandates forced the agency to target much of its assistance on the poorest households (usually single mothers with children). As a result, its housing projects are overloaded with female-headed households.

What is the way out?

The next section examines anti-poverty programs in York City's poorest neighborhoods. Before that discussion, however, let's re-emphasize the message of this section.

Six out of seven poor whites live in middle-class communities and send their children to middle-class schools throughout metro York. For most poor whites, the regional society functions to compensate for weaker families with stronger neighborhoods and stronger schools.

Two out of three poor blacks and Hispanics, by contrast, live in poverty-impacted neighborhoods and send their children to poverty-impacted schools.

Middle-class schools plus poor children equal better grades

"Integration works." That is the finding of a detailed study of the school performance of public housing children in Albuquerque. Conducted by David Rusk and The Urban Institute for the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the study examined test scores of 1,108 children from public housing households attending the Albuquerque's elementary schools over a ten-year period.

Albuquerque was chosen because it has an unusual number of public housing children living in middle-class neighborhoods and attending middle-class neighborhood schools. Such social integration is the result of the high degree of local governmental unity. With 80 percent of the metro area's population, Albuquerque is a near-metropolitan city. Its small,

scattered site public housing projects and rent subsidies cover almost all neighborhoods. And the Albuquerque Public Schools, the nation's 25th largest system, is one of only five metrowide school systems.

The results?

Having controlled carefully for sex, race and ethnicity, and household characteristics, the study found that for every percentage point decrease in poverty among a public housing child's classmates, the child's third grade test scores improved 0.22 percentile.

In other words, attending a middle-class neighborhood school with 20 percent poor children rather than a poverty neighborhood school with 80 percent poor children meant a 13 percentile improvement in a public housing child's test scores!

1989 Fair share poverty index:

York City had nation's 8th most disproportionate poverty burden.

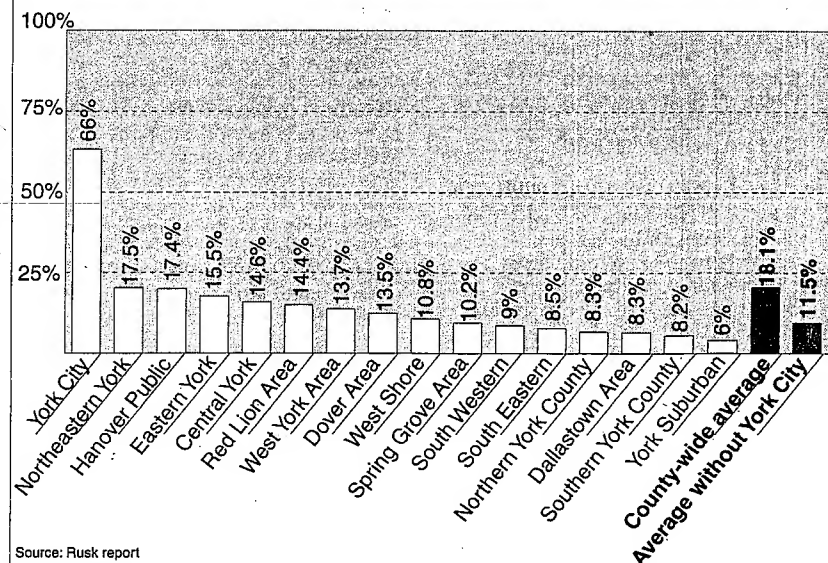
Metropolitan area	Metro poverty rate	City poverty rate	City's Fair Share of Poverty Index
East St. Louis IL	10.1%	40.9%	406
Benton Harbor MI	12.6%	49.6%	395
Hartford CT	9.7%	37.8%	387
Perth Amboy NJ	6.1%	22.0%	362
Camden NJ	11.9%	41.7%	352
Harrisburg PA	7.6%	26.5%	346
Lawrence MA	11.7%	39.8%	340
York PA	6.2%	19.8%	317
Canton OH	8.7%	26.4%	304
Paterson NJ	9.5%	28.8%	303
Elmira NY	9.3%	27.9%	299
Newark NJ	13.0%	38.5%	296

Source: Rusk report

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

1994-95 Children qualifying for free school lunches:

Only York City schools have high percentages of qualifying students.



Source: Rusk report

DAILY RECORD / DAVID HUTH

A STUDY: THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

For his forthcoming book, "Up the Down Escalator," David Rusk studied poverty-impacted neighborhoods served by 34 of the USA's best private, non-profit, community development corporations.

The "CDCs" renovated or built low- and moderate-income housing, redeveloped neighborhood shopping areas, and operated job training, youth, and social service programs.

The study evaluated 11 CDCs founded in the 1960s for a 20-year period (1970-90). The 24 CDCs founded in the 1970s were evaluated over a 10-year period (1980-90).

■ Average poverty rates jumped from 23% to 26% in areas served by newer CDCs and from 19% to 28% in neighborhoods targeted by older CDCs. Out of 34 target areas poverty rates were stable or declined slightly in only 6 neighborhoods.

■ Virtually every target neighborhood declined in overall population and, much more significantly, in total households. Fifteen of 17 majority-black neighborhoods lost between 10% and 45% of their households.

■ Higher poverty rates and declining numbers of households translated into declining neighborhood buying power. In 23 of 34 target areas real neighborhood buying power dropped. Efforts to stimulate local retail businesses typically faced a local market with fewer — and poorer — potential customers.

Almost invariably, growth in real neighborhood buying power was associated with in-migration of new households, whether new households were primarily yuppies (Boston's Jamaica Plain, Cincinnati's Walnut Hills), Hispanics (Los Angeles' Vermont-Slausson, New York City's South Bronx), or Asians (San Francisco's Mission District).

Few target neighborhoods had more poor residents by 1990 than earlier times. What happened was that so many middle-class households — white, black, and Hispanic — moved out. With the "control rods" removed, the critical mass of poor households intensified — and the social meltdown accelerated, driving still more stable households away.

The results underscored how hard it is for neighborhood-based groups to win the "inside game" without a strong "outside game" as well.

CDCs face daunting challenge in USA

The Crispus Attucks Association is an impressive organization — one of the best neighborhood-based programs we've seen in visiting 70 cities across the country.

Founded in a very segregated York City in 1931, Crispus Attucks has served primarily the African American community for 65 years. Its headquarters has moved from an old house to an old church (1944), to a new building on South Duke Street and Boundary Avenue (1972). Its 100,000 square foot education wing (1993) testifies to the breadth of both neighborhood and business community support; \$1.5 million was raised in just 6 months.

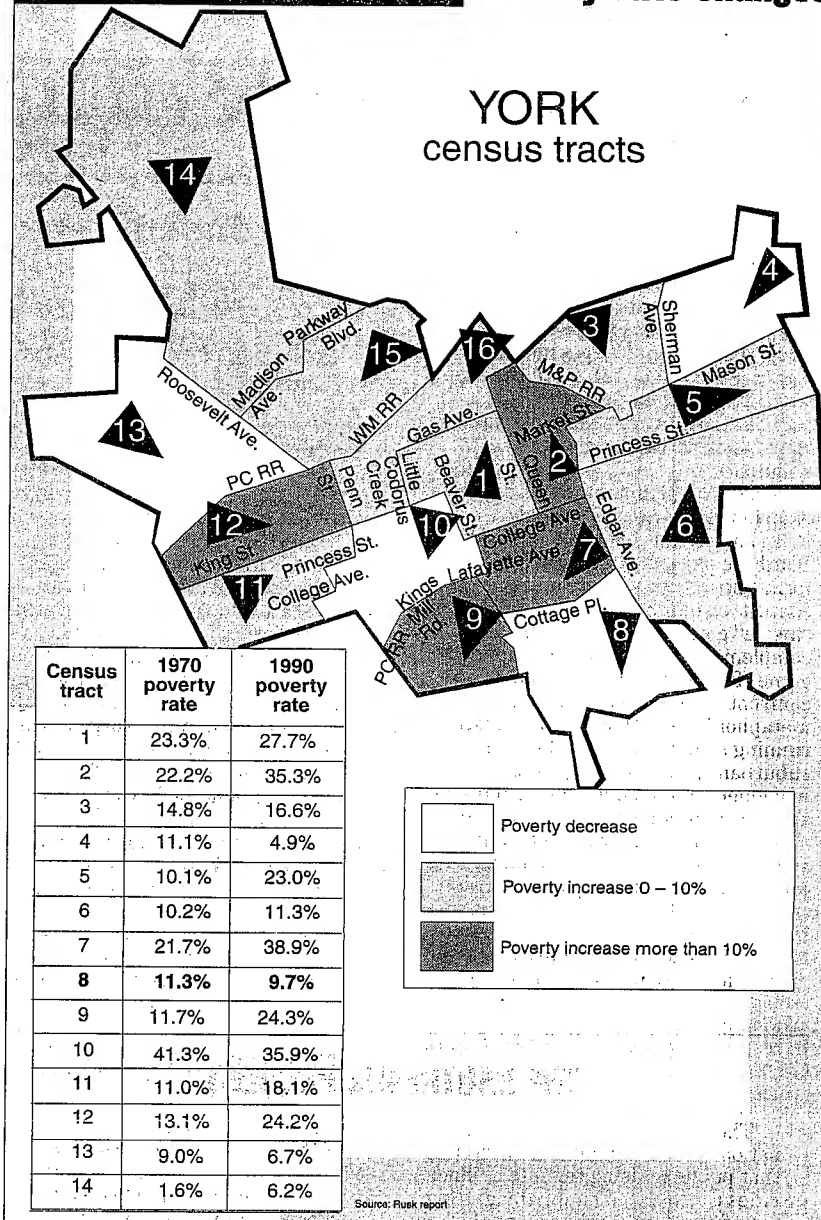
Walking through Crispus Attucks on a Fall afternoon is an uplifting experience. A half dozen nurseries and play rooms are filled with black, Hispanic, and white children whose parents, freed by the availability of Crispus Attucks' day care program, are at work. In the gym older children participate in after-school programs. Teenagers are hard at work in the computer lab or in the Alternative High School program.

Outside, the impact of the Crispus Attucks Community Development Corporation is evident. We walk along Boundary Avenue (little more than an alley), targeted for major redevelopment by the CDC. We pass up and down South George Street, where the CDC has bought, renovated, and rented almost every corner property. Bring in responsible businesses and social agencies as tenants. Drive the drug traffickers out of vacant buildings. Our guide clues me in on how to identify a Crispus Attucks-owned and renovated row house: a certain style of street numeral. There are 110 properties the CDC has purchased, renovated through its own construction company (all neighborhood residents), and rented to low- and moderate income families. Along with the South George Street Partnership, another neighborhood-business community alliance, Crispus Attucks has big plans for York City's poorest neighborhoods.

And yet, the hard facts from census reports say that all the past good works haven't been enough. With each passing decade, Crispus Attucks' target area becomes poorer and poorer.

The two maps of York City tell the story. The poverty rate in census tract #7, heart of Crispus Attucks' target area, increased from 21.7% in 1970 to 38.9% by 1990. Doubling the neighborhood's poverty rate may have been associated with building the Village at York, in effect, a privately-

1970-90 Poverty rate changes



*The task these
CDCs face is like
helping a crowd of
poor people run up
a down escalator.*

owned public housing project, in the heart of the neighborhood.

But over the 20-year period most surrounding census tracts saw steady increases in poverty rates as well. In fact, poverty rates increased in 12 out of York City's 16 census tracts. In 20 years the number of "critical mass" tracts increased from 5 to 9; two-thirds of all city tracts were "poverty neighborhoods" by 1990. Overall, the city-wide poverty rate increased from 14.9% in 1970 to 20.3% (not adjusted) in 1990.

This discouraging record does not represent a history of failure by Crispus Attucks, or the City of York, or any

variety of civic and neighborhood organizations which have struggled with growing poverty levels in York City. These trends parallel the history of neighborhoods in cities around the country, including those served by 34 of the USA's best community development corporations (see box). And Crispus Attucks deserves to be ranked among the best.

The task these CDCs face is like helping a crowd of poor people run up a down escalator. No matter how fast they run up, the escalator comes back down faster and faster. Some individuals will run so hard that they succeed in getting to the top of the down escalator. But then they jump off. They move out of the neighborhood. And all the rest are carried back down to the bottom, usually into a deeper hole than when they started. The climb out gets steeper and steeper.

That is just what has happened in York City. In 1970 York City had 5 "critical mass" census tracts with household poverty levels averaging 22%. Collectively, the poverty rate rose

See next page

York needs strong 'outside, inside' plan

Continued from previous page

to 39% by 1990, yet the numbers of poor households had barely grown from 1,532 to 1,670. In fact, the number of poor households dropped in 3 of the 5 neighborhoods. The increase in tract 7 alone (the Village at York again?) more than accounted for the total increase.

The poverty rate skyrocketed because there were a lot fewer non-poor households living in these neighborhoods. In fact, total households declined from 6,903 to 4,270 — a 52% drop in middle-class households.

In basketball terms, Crispus Attucks, South George Street Partnership, etc. form a strong "inside" game. But this contest cannot be won by a strong "inside" game alone. It needs to be complemented by a strong "outside" game. The "outside" game must confront all the forces which, to mix metaphors, keep that down escalator running so hard. Among these are suburban sprawl, causing constant movement of housing, stores, and jobs away from inner-city neighborhoods; new subdivisions, always excluding low- and moderate income households; continued racial discrimination; traditional public housing policies, hyper-concentrating the poorest households; and growing fiscal disparities, driving up city taxes while

*These trends
parallel the history
of neighborhoods in
cities around the
country...*

diminishing the quality of city services.

Other sections of this report address sprawl and fiscal disparities. There are good examples of housing policies which work effectively to integrate poor households into mainstream society. Subsidizing poor families' rents in highly scattered rental housing rather than concentrating them in public housing projects is one approach (see box on Chicago's Gautreaux program).

Rent vouchers are already available county-wide though the York Housing Authority, though the flow of federal funds is steadily drying up. The nation's best housing policies, however, are carried out by Montgomery County, MD (see box). That county government's zoning policies require a modest proportion of mixed-income housing in all new sub-divisions.

A strong "inside" game plus a strong "outside" game. That's what's really needed to reverse York City's decline.

THE GAUTREAUX PROJECT

The Gautreaux Project has drawn national attention by demonstrating that public housing tenants in inner cities can succeed simply by getting out of bad neighborhoods into better neighborhoods. Named for public-housing tenant activist Dorothy Gautreaux, the program began in 1976 when the federal courts found the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) guilty of racial discrimination.

One remedy the courts ordered was to subsidize moving public housing families out of CHA projects and into private rental housing elsewhere in Chicago or anywhere in Chicago's six-county suburban area.

Since 1976 over 5,600 families have participated in the program, administered by the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, a court-appointed nonprofit organization. One-third of the families remained in Chicago; two-thirds moved to Chicago's suburbs.

James E. Rosenbaum, professor of sociology at Northwestern University, did a follow-up study of the "city movers" and suburban movers. Both showed the same socioeconomic profile entering the program: typically a Black, female head of household, receiving welfare assistance, with two or three

children.

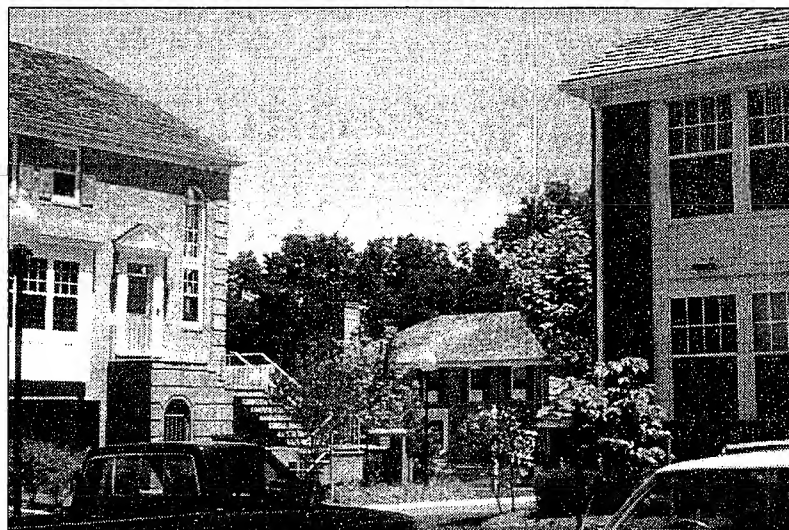
Of the suburban-mover mothers, 64% were working compared with 51% for city-mover mothers. Of the suburban-mover children, 95% graduated from their suburban systems compared with a graduation rate of 80% of city movers from Chicago schools.

Fifty-four percent of suburban movers had continued their education (27% in four-year colleges) compared with 21% of city movers (4 percent in four-year colleges). Seventy-five percent of suburban-mover youth were working (21% for hourly wages of \$6.50 or better); by contrast, 41% of city-mover youth had a job (5% at \$6.50 or better per hour).

"Pessimistic predictions of 'culture poverty' models are not supported," Rosenbaum concluded after completing his study.

"The early experiences of low-income blacks do not prevent them from benefitting from suburban moves."

One participant in the Gautreaux Project summed up her experience in this way: "A housing project deteriorates you. You don't want to do anything. Living in the suburbs made me feel that I'm worth something. I can do anything I want to do if I get up and try it."



The Normandy Crest development has subsidized townhouses, right, on the same street as market-rate townhouses and, rear, \$500,000 homes.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND

Around 43,000 poor persons lived in Montgomery County, a wealthy Maryland suburb of Washington, DC, in 1989 — but in only four census tracts out of 159 had poverty levels barely reached "critical mass." In 1995 almost 21 percent of the students of the county-wide Montgomery County Public Schools were poor enough to receive free school lunches (compared with 18 percent of all students in York County's 16 school districts). But only five of Montgomery County's 127 elementary schools had concentrations of poor children approaching the levels in all seven of York City's elementary schools. Montgomery County's school drop-out rate was less than 2% a year.

What makes Montgomery County different is its strong county government's determination to encourage racially and economically diverse neighborhoods everywhere.

With its 72 municipalities and 16 school districts, York County society divides sharply by race, ethnic group, and income.

One of Montgomery County's key tools is its Moderately-Priced Dwelling Unit ordinance. Enacted in 1973, the MPDU law requires private developers to build mixed income housing everywhere. The law covers any new subdivision, townhouse complex, or apartment development with at least 50 housing units.

Under the county law up to 85% of the new housing can be "market rate" (at whatever income level the builder targets), but at least 15% must be "affordable" housing, or MPDUs. To qualify for an MPDU, a family's income cannot exceed 65% of the county's average household income. In 1989 the income ceiling was about \$35,000 a year. [Editor's note: this income level is not adjusted for Montgomery County's high cost-of-living.]

To help integrate poor households into middle-class society, the county law further specifies that one-third of the MPDUs, or 5% of all housing created, must be available for rent or

*Montgomery
County never
builds public
housing projects.*

out-right purchase by the Housing Opportunities Commission, the county-wide housing authority.

Montgomery County never builds public housing projects. It simply buys standard housing scattered all over the county as rental housing for its poorest households.

Complying with the County's ground rules, private homebuilders and apartment developers have produced over 9,000 MPDUs — two-thirds for sale, one third for rent. Many buyers are local school teachers, county deputy sheriffs, office workers, super market clerks, fast food cooks — in short, the very civil servants, retail trade and service industry workers who serve local communities.

To house welfare recipients and other poor residents, the Housing Opportunities Commission has purchased over 1,100 of the new MPDUs. (Church groups and private, non-profits have bought others.) The county-owned units are so scattered that HOC pays annual membership assessments to over 150 private homeowners associations.

The 85-10-5 income mix produces no social problems, according to HOC officials, police, and social agencies, and resale prices have risen in mixed-income subdivisions faster than for non-mixed income housing developments.

The policy's social benefits have been matched by economic results. By providing housing for all occupational levels, Montgomery County has helped promote a diversified local economy. In a generation the county has become the second largest employment center in the Greater Washington area.

Explosion in York's suburbs out of control



Attractive subdivisions with large houses on large lots are sprouting throughout York County. However, urban sprawl carries short-term and long-term costs. Large lots with homes set back from streets discourage the evolution of subdivisions into neighborhoods. Many subdivisions built in the 1950s and 1960s already face significant urban problems. Today's municipal winners are tomorrow's losers.

Anyone not yet on Medicare wouldn't remember it. Younger people probably wouldn't believe it. Back in the Good Old Days, most of the rich people lived in York City. In fact, as late as 1950, York City's average household income (\$2,952) was higher than the average household income for the York area as a whole (\$2,866). That meant that York City's income level was 103% of the region's. York City was richer than most of its suburbs.

By 1970, the tables were more than turned. York City had fallen to only 75% of the region's average household income (see box). Twenty years later York City's average household income had drifted further down to 69% of the regional average.

What had happened was the rapid suburbanization of Central York. While York City's population plummeted, Springettsbury, Manchester, Spring Garden, and other suburbs boomed. In 40 years York City lost 30% of its population. By contrast, Spring Garden's population grew by 34%, Manchester's by 171%, West Manchester's by 162%, and Springettsbury's by 289%.

The population shifts involved

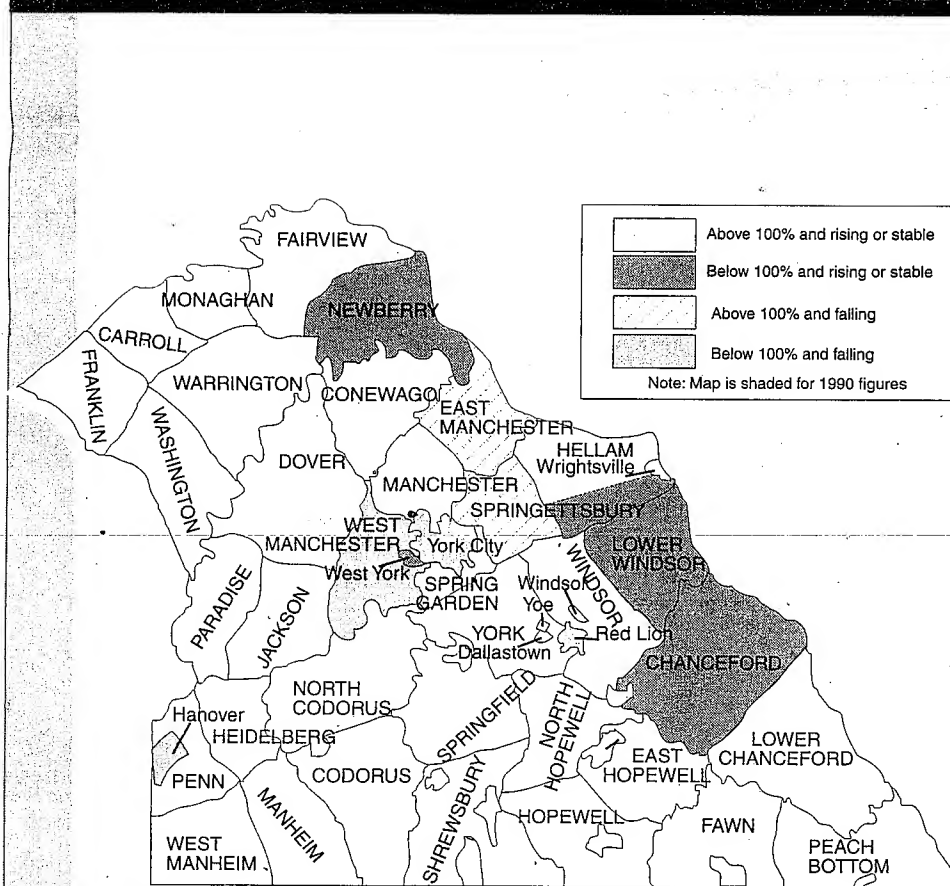
primarily middle- and upper-middle class families. While relative income levels of York City's dropped rapidly, the suburban townships' relative income levels soared. By 1990, Spring Garden township's average household income was 156% of the regional average — more than twice York City's level.

In southwestern York County the same dynamics of sprawl were affecting Hanover Borough, the county's other traditional employment center. In 1950 Hanover's average household income was 102% of the regional average. By 1970 Hanover had slid to 94% of the regional average, and further slumped to 83% by 1990. While Hanover declined, adjacent Penn Township rose.

These same development patterns have occurred in every metropolitan area. In roughly two-thirds of the states, however, cities still have annexation powers. Cities like Albuquerque or Charlotte automatically make their suburbs part of their city. Such "elastic" cities defend their market share of regional growth. Their populations and tax bases continue to grow. They typically have AA and AAA credit ratings. The most successful elastic cities still have income levels

See next page

Household income trends: 1970 - 1990



Source: Rusk report

Jurisdiction

CENTRAL YORK:

	Local household increase as pct. of Metro household income in 1970	Local household increase as pct. of Metro household income in 1990
York City	75%	69%
Springettsbury Township	132%	119%
Spring Garden Township	132%	156%
Paradise Township/Jackson Township (Spring Grove)	104%	104%
Dover Township	106%	102%
Conewago Township	90%	100%
East Manchester Township (Manchester, Mount Wolf)	105%	100%
Manchester Township	105%	113%
West York	82%	83%
West Manchester Township	113%	98%
Heidelberg/North Codorus (Seven Valleys, New Salem, Jefferson)	106%	109%
Codorus Township	86%	112%
Springfield Township (Loganville, Jacobus)	107%	109%
York Township	122%	117%
Dallastown/Yoe	92%	79%
Red Lion	93%	82%
Windsor Township (Windsor)	99%	96%
Windsor Township	113%	120%
Hellam Township (Hallam)	101%	97%
Hellam Township (Wrightsville)	91%	99%
Lower Windsor Township (Yorkana, East Prospect)	94%	95%
Chanceford (Felton)/North Hopewell (Winterstown)/Lower Chanceford	89%	92%
Sub-total - Suburban Central York	109%	107%
Total - Central York	99%	100%

YORK-CUMBERLAND/DAUPHIN

Fairview Township	109%	111%
Monaghan/Warrington (Wellsville)/Washington townships	97%	105%
Franklin Township (Franklintown)/Carroll Township (Dillsburgh)	106%	109%
Newberry Township	93%	99%
Total - York-Cumberland/Dauphin	102%	106%

YORK-HANOVER:

Penn Township	97%	104%
Hanover	94%	83%
Manheim Township/West Manheim Township	93%	125%
Conewago Township	92%	142%
Conewago Township (McSherrytown)	88%	90%
Total - York-Hanover	94%	98%

YORK-METRO BALTIMORE:

Shrewsbury Twp (Shrewsbury, Glen Rock, Railroad, New Freedom)	97%	112%
Hopewell (Stewartstown)/East Hopewell (Cross Roads) Townships	97%	115%
Fawn (Fawn Grove)/Peach Bottom (Delta) townships	88%	97%
Total - York-Metro Baltimore	95%	109%

Adding 1 mill could improve matters

Continued from previous page

equal to or greater than their suburbs. In 1990, Albuquerque's average household income equaled (100%) its regional average; Charlotte (109%) exceeded its regional average. In Pennsylvania, however, sprawling outward development occurs across a frozen political map.

That means that, each decade will produce municipal winners ... and municipal losers.

This gives rise to:

The Iron Laws of Urban Sprawl

Law Number 1:

The New Beats Out the Old.

Law Number 2:

Today's Winners become Tomorrow's Losers

The map and table lay out this process. They show each municipality's average household income as a percentage of the regional average in 1970 and 1990. (A number of municipalities are sometimes grouped by the Census Bureau in the same census tract and cannot be separately distinguished.)

York's and Hanover's "loser" status has been noted. But every borough we can separately identify in York County is also now a "loser" except for West York, whose household income levels have been stable (around 83%). The "losers" list highlights Dallastown/Yoe (92% to 79%) and Red Lion (93% to 82%). But it also covers townships linked with sizable boroughs in the census reports, such as East Manchester Township/Manchester and Mount Wolf Boroughs (105% to 100%), that part of Windsor Township including Windsor Borough (99% to 96%), and that part of Hellam Township including Hallam Borough (101% to 97%).

Many older townships, approaching full build-out, are also slipping: Springettsbury (132% to 119%), West Manchester (113% to 105%), York Township (122% to 117%).

Many townships still have household incomes above the regional average, and their rates of decline aren't as precipitous as York City has experienced. But just wait until the growth machine really kicks in around York-Baltimore (95% to 109%) and York-Harrisburg (102% to 106%). And lest Penn Township (97% to 104%) is feeling buoyant in southwestern York, look at its farther-out neighbors: Manheim Township/West Manheim Township (93% to 125%) and Adams County's Conewago Township (92% to 142%).

"Today's Winners Become Tomorrow's Losers." Sprawl is the engine, but fiscal disparities are the most immediate result.

The York County Chamber of Commerce studied fiscal disparities among Central York communities in 1994.

The Chamber's study showed that, compared to its 6 adjacent neighbors, York City residents paid more than twice the level of property taxes on equal value homes. York City's

County	Millage rate
Adams	3.0
Cumberland	23.0
Dauphin	6.746
Lancaster	11.0
York	3.0

Millage rates for county government services only and can be affected by how property is assessed.

allocation of property taxes collected was two to three times the suburban municipalities' shares, as was York City's per capita cost of providing basic police, fire, and parks and recreation services.

This also is a common national pattern (at least, in states with highly "inelastic" central cities). Suburban officials and residents often point admonishing fingers at city mayors and say, in effect, "if the city would just clean up its act ... cut the bureaucracy ... tame its employee unions ... eliminate unnecessary services ... slash the budget ... cut taxes ... in other words, act like us suburbs, then the city would be much more competitive, and we suburbs would be ready to help the city out."

That's just what Mayor Ed Rendell did in Philadelphia, and, he told us, "the suburbs are no more ready to help Philadelphia than they ever were." Philadelphia's fiscal problem — and York City's fiscal problem — is that, 1) as inelastic cities, they've been unable to capture any of their region's sprawling development by annexation, and 2) they've both been converted into warehouses for most of their region's poor minorities. (In 1990 Philadelphia's fair share of poverty index was 201 — twice its "fair share" — and York City's index was 317 — three times its "fair share.") In fact, there is not one major American city which, having defended its market share of regional growth by annexing as little as 25% more territory, has less than an A municipal bond rating. All low bond ratings, like Philadelphia's and York City's, are assigned to minimal- or zero-annexation cities. In terms of cost of services a University of Pennsylvania study has shown that for every 1% increase in a city's poverty rate, there is, on average, a 5.5% increase in the per capita cost of police protection. That means that York City (poverty rate: 20%) would be expected to have almost twice the per capita cost for police protection than would Spring Garden (poverty rate: 4%). The Chamber's study of fiscal disparities focused only on York City and its immediate neighbors. As the income trends show, a broader study of fiscal disparities would undoubtedly show similar trends for most of the county's boroughs and many built-out townships.

Wealthier municipalities don't voluntarily share their revenues with poorer neighbors. Dayton's ED/GE plan (see page 6) is more "economic development" than "government equity." ED/GE's revenue pool barely amounts to \$1 per year per resident of

the Dayton area.

By contrast, the Twin Cities Fiscal Disparities Plan (see box), mandated by the Minnesota legislature, pools about \$100 per year per resident of the Twin Cities area. Revenue sharing that really counts will have to await action by the Pennsylvania legislature.

Yet York County government has a real opportunity to break new ground. The County Commissioners are very prudent guardians of the public purse. Yet there is the example of the Montgomery County (OH) Commission's ED/GE program. They used a modest tax increase to stimulate an unparalleled level of inter-governmental cooperation in the Dayton area. The benefits for area-wide economic development, affordable housing, and cultural life have been substantial.

Could not the York County Commissioners take a similar initiative? We believe they can.

The County currently collects a 3-mill property tax for county government. That is tied (with Adams County) for the lowest rate among its neighboring counties — and far below the others (see box).

We propose that the York County Commission add 1 mill to the county property tax. It might be called "1 Mill for Our Future."

One mill would produce about \$10.5 million per year — costing about \$80 per York County household.

■ \$5 million should be distributed among 72 local governments as revenue sharing. It could be done in a way that achieves another fiscal reform goal — rationalizing the system of tax exempt property county-wide.

Tax exempt property falls disproportionately within older communities. Springettsbury Township has only around 100 tax-exempt parcels; York City has 700. Yet some currently tax-exempt properties should be returned to the tax roles.

The county should set standards for what qualifies as tax exempt property. Then the county's \$5 million fund could be allocated to partially reimburse each of the 72 municipalities for revenue losses — but only if they adopted the County's standards and brought non-qualifying property back on the local roles.

■ \$5 million should be committed to a county-wide affordable housing program like Montgomery County, MD's (see page 17). Part of the money could be provided to the York Housing Authority to purchase a modest number of houses produced under a mixed-income requirement for all new subdivisions. But part could also be payment in lieu of taxes to local municipalities for the new YHA-owned units. This would reimburse local municipalities for revenue losses from YHA property and help cover cost of municipal services for new residents.

■ Finally, \$500,000 could boost the County Commission's appropriation for purchasing agricultural easements — a vital tool in the fight against sprawl and the effort to preserve York County's farming economy and heritage.

TWIN CITIES TAX-BASE SHARING

The Mall of America, the USA's biggest, sits in suburban Bloomington, MN. Yet every one of 188 municipalities and over 100 school districts and special authorities in the 7-county Minneapolis-St. Paul region shares in the millions of dollars in tax revenues generated by the giant mall.

Why?

The Twin Cities Fiscal Disparities Plan, the nation's largest regional tax-base sharing program.

Enacted in 1971 by the Minnesota legislature, the plan pools 40% of the increase in all communities' commercial/industrial property valuation.

All cities and townships keep their pre-1971 tax bases plus 60% of the annual growth. The pool is then taxed at a uniform rate and redistributed among all local government entities.

The redistribution formula estimates each community's annual population and how its commercial/industrial tax base per capita compares with the regional per capita average.

Poorer than average communities receive more back from the fund than they contribute. Richer than average communities contribute more than they receive.

By 1995 the annual Fiscal Disparities fund amounted to \$241 million, almost 27 percent of all commercial/industrial property taxes collected. Some 140 municipalities were net recipients; 47 were net contributors. The net contributors were primarily wealthy suburbs lying in the "Fertile Crescent" southwest of the Twin Cities. Giant malls, office towers, and garden-like industrial parks have sprouted along the interstate highways that border these suburbs or adjacent to the suburban Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport.

Initially the largest net recipient, Minneapolis' downtown office boom made it a net contributor in the mid-1980s. By the mid-1990s, the office bust returned Minneapolis to net recipient status.

The tax-base sharing program narrows fiscal disparities between rich and poor communities. Without the plan, the tax base disparity would be 17 to 1.

The Fiscal Disparities Plan narrows the gap to 4 to 1 between richest and poorest.

AN ACTION PLAN

Stopping sprawl one step
in facing the future

Suburban sprawl, concentrated poverty, fiscal disparities. They are eroding York County's quality of life. They aren't just York City's problems. They are county-wide problems. They must be addressed through county-wide strategies.

No one municipality or township, acting alone, can possibly control suburban sprawl. Growth management is a collective challenge. Controlling suburban sprawl requires boroughs, townships, and county government to work together.

Within just 5 square miles, York City, the USA's smallest central city geographically, cannot possibly reduce its concentration of poverty. York City houses just 25% of all York County's poor whites but 91% of all York County's poor minorities. As a region the York area "mainstreams" poor whites. Poor whites are scattered throughout the 905 square mile county. But York City cannot "mainstream" its poor blacks and Latinos within only city neighborhoods. There isn't enough "mainstream" in York City to do the job. Opening access to better homes, better schools, and better jobs requires participation by many York County communities.

A new factory, shopping center, or subdivision today benefits only the municipality's tax base where it's located. New burdens, however, are created for its neighbors. Revenue sharing would balance growth's benefits and burdens better.

All three issues — suburban sprawl, concentrated poverty, fiscal disparities — are interrelated. One problem cannot be isolated from the others. Suburban sprawl begets concentrated poverty. Concentrated poverty begets fiscal disparities. Rising tax rates and declining services beget more sprawl. There must be concerted action on all three fronts. Success on any will ease the task on all. Action must be taken by the private sector, local government, and state government. This action plan recommends what each level can do.

The private sector includes business leaders, civic groups, non-profit organizations, religious bodies, and active citizens. For example, the private sector can invest in mixed-income housing developments. Successful local examples can get a larger ball rolling. But the private sector's most important task is changing local and state government policies and practices.

York County's 72 cities, boroughs, and townships today could do voluntarily most of what this report recommends. They have enough legal authority. However, there is little tradition of local collaboration. Some municipalities have group purchasing arrangements. Others support, for example, a common police force. But as Don Hutchinson, former Baltimore County Executive and head of the Greater Baltimore Committee, says, "if regionalism isn't dealing with land use, fiscal disparities, housing, and education, regionalism isn't dealing with the issues that really matter."

These are very tough issues. Most municipalities shun voluntary arrangements which limit freedom of action, share revenues, or require assuming some responsibility for "those people" beyond current boundaries.

Inspired county government, however, can bring boroughs and townships together. Ohio counties have no

more authority over municipalities than Pennsylvania counties. Despite its weak powers, Ohio's Montgomery County induced Dayton and 28 of 29 suburban neighbors to sign up for a unified economic development program, make a modest beginning on tax-sharing, promote "fair share" affordable housing, and strengthen the region's cultural life (see page 19).

Another example. The Lancaster County Planning Commission has no more legal power than the York County Planning Commission (both have almost none). In spite of its lack of authority, Lancaster County convinced most of its townships and boroughs to develop joint growth management plans and adopt urban growth boundaries (see page 11).

To be realistic, such voluntary collaboration is rare. Strong growth management, significant revenue sharing, and "fair share" affordable housing probably requires new state laws. State law defines what local governments can do and what local governments must do. The USA's best voluntary revenue-sharing program (Dayton's ED/GE plan) wouldn't be enough for York County. The USA's best voluntary growth management program (Lancaster County's) wouldn't be enough for York County. "Can do" probably won't work. "Must do" will.

Local reformers must target Harrisburg. York area leaders must reach out to Lancaster, Reading, the

Lehigh Valley, Erie, and the other mid-sized Pennsylvania communities. They have similar problems. They must lobby the state legislature for common solutions. Slowing suburban sprawl, sharing revenues, and promoting mixed-income housing regionally opens the door to another major regional initiative — reclaiming historic York City. Burdened by concentrated poverty, York City's historic neighborhoods are now the region's least valuable residential property. With the poverty burden reduced, York City's historic neighborhoods could become the region's most valuable residential property (like Virginia's Old Town Alexandria or historic Fredricksburg). A major regional liability could become a major regional asset. York County's blue-collar economy does not automatically attract high-skilled, high-income occupations. York City's historic neighborhoods can be just such a magnet. York City could be to Baltimore City what Annapolis or Fredricksburg is to Washington, DC. Upscale commuters, living in historic York City, can help redefine the York area's image. Historic York City can become an attractive location for business services companies, consulting firms, and other professional occupations. Highly skilled professionals increasingly seek out places like what York City can become — Annapolis, Charlottesville, Boulder, Santa Fe.

Government and business leaders have stemmed Downtown York's decline. Downtown York is still a viable local government, banking, and legal services center. But Market Street rolls up the sidewalks when office workers leave at night.

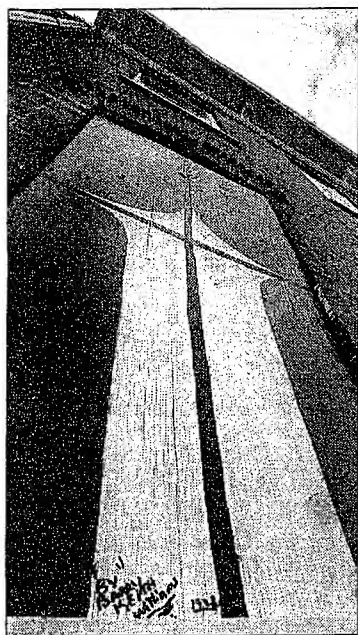
Framed by revitalized neighborhoods, Downtown York can again become the center of civic life and entertainment for all of Central York.

And under a regional revenue sharing plan, such a revitalized York City can become revenue producer rather than revenue consumer. That day is far off, but that day can come.

*Framed by
revitalized
neighborhoods,
Downtown York
can again
become the center
of civic life and
entertainment.*

PUTTING THE ACTION PLAN TO WORK

	GROWTH MANAGEMENT	MIXED INCOME HOUSING	REVENUE SHARING	REVIVING OLD YORK CITY
PRIVATE EFFORTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Visit model communities (e.g. Portland, Lancaster, Lexington KY) to study best planning practices; publicize results. ■ Provide local speakers bureau to discuss sprawl's costs and describe alternative growth paths. ■ Sponsor workshops involving 100s of citizens in "Visual Preference Surveys" to guide future local design standards, reform outmoded zoning codes. ■ Organize broad community coalition to support collaborative land use planning by local governments; lobby for County's "1 Mill for Our Future." ■ Create alliance with other Pennsylvania communities to lobby for strong, statewide land use/growth management law. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Study Montgomery County, MD/other communities requiring mixed income housing developments and publicize results; highlight also successful local experiences. ■ Organize joint ventures of private developers and builders, church organizations, other non-profit housing providers and/or private investors seeking to utilize Low Income Housing Tax Credits to develop demonstration mixed-income housing developments. ■ Advocate enactment of Montgomery County, MD-style Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) ordinances by local government and enactment of new state statutes requiring similar provision of fair share low- and moderate-income housing statewide. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Study issue of fiscal disparities for all York County jurisdictions to demonstrate adverse trends for most boroughs, built-out townships; publicize results through conferences, speakers bureau, etc. ■ Provide vigorous support for County Commission to adopt "1 Mill for Our Future." ■ Form alliance with other Pennsylvania communities to lobby for state law mandating regional tax-based sharing programs like Minnesota's Fiscal Disparities Plan. ■ Lobby for greater state funding for local public schools on state equalization formula basis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ First priority in revitalizing Old York City is building "outside game." Without substantial success in slowing suburban sprawl, opening up suburban housing choices for Old York City's poor minorities, easing York City's fiscal crunch, "inside game" potential is limited. ■ Assuming "outside game" progress, provide continued support to strong, "inside game" programs like Crispus Attucks, South George Street Partnership. ■ Continue mortgage financing, rehabilitation loans through Community Reinvestment Act; broaden loan availability for middle-income applicants. ■ Encourage major private downtown employers to provide company funded low-cost loans/down payment assistance to encourage stable employees to purchase/renovate Old York City residences.
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS	<p>With County Commission's political backing, county planning commission/staff should use Lancaster's techniques to get boroughs/townships to adopt collaborative land use plans.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) designating Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs) or Village Growth Boundaries (VGBs); b) zone land outside UGBs/VGBs for exclusive farm use or natural area protection; c) conform zoning maps to adopted plans; d) adopt Adequate Public Facilities ordinances conditioning zoning/building permits on infrastructure availability; and e) revise local zoning codes to encourage more cluster development, planned unit development, etc. to accommodate future growth at higher (but livable) densities. <p>County Commission should boost annual appropriation for agricultural conservation easements fund by \$500,000 from proposed "1 Mill for the Future Fund."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ York City, other boroughs should enact (and encourage townships to enact) local MPDU-type ordinances <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) requiring 20 percent of new housing construction above minimum size development (e.g. 20 units) must be affordable for households at maximum 65% of county-wide median household income; b) providing York Housing Authority, or other public or private, non-profit agency with first right to purchase or rent one-quarter of affordable units (i.e. 5% of total) for low-income households; and c) allowing housing developers to receive "density bonuses" that allow them to build more dwellings than normally allowed on sites as compensation for meeting the affordable housing requirement. ■ County Commission should establish \$5 million fund from "1 Mill for Our Future" to make payments in lieu of taxes to local boroughs, townships, and school districts equivalent to property taxes otherwise paid on publicly-acquired low income housing units under MPDU policy. 	<p>County Commission should enact "1 Mill for Our Future" to provide additional \$10.5 million in county revenues. Commissioners should commit funds primarily to reward municipalities for local tax reform, affordable housing participation; increase annual appropriation for agricultural conservation easements by \$500,000.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ \$5 million distributed to all localities based on formula partially compensating localities for tax-exempt property. County should establish clear standards for tax-exempt status to encourage dubiously-justified tax-exempt property to be returned to local tax roles. Municipal eligibility for county distribution dependent on reforming tax-exempt rolls. ■ \$5 million committed to supporting county-wide affordable housing programs. Part should be committed to York Housing Authority, non-profit groups for housing acquisition under MPDU-type policies. Part should be payments in lieu of taxes to localities to reimburse for YHA acquired housing under MPDU-type programs. 	<p>Again, "outside game" success is crucial and must be focal point of county government, other efforts. Assuming progress,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ York City government must get broad-based buy-in from suburbs on directions of revised city comprehensive plan. York City's future must be seen as positive opportunity by neighbors, not continuation of past trends. ■ York City must consciously adopt comprehensive plan based on goal of significant demographic change for Old York City, adjacent neighborhoods. All neighborhoods must always provide for racial, ethnic, and income diversity, but Old York City cannot continue as regional warehouse for poor minorities. ■ York City must shape all plans to exploit historic neighborhoods' potential for regentrification. Maintain historic buildings at all cost; eliminate one-way streets to calm traffic; provide high level of street amenities; encourage "micro-neighborhoods" building out from centers of strength; explore magnet elementary school for region.
STATE GOVERNMENT	<p>State Legislature must enact statewide land use planning/growth management law like Oregon's. New law must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) set clear state goals accommodating most future urban growth within existing urbanized areas, preserving farm land and open spaces, maximizing use of current public infrastructure, supporting economic development, protecting air and water quality, and other state objectives; b) require counties, in collaboration with cities, boroughs, and townships, to develop and adopt land use/growth management plans; c) require all municipalities to adopt land use plans which conform with county plans, including designating UGBs/VGBs; d) empower county government to mediate/resolve local planning conflicts; e) have counties review/approve plans for siting facilities and developments of regional significance, including major highway/road improvements; f) require state agency infrastructure investments to conform to local/county plans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ State legislature should enact statewide MPDU-type mixed income housing requirement for all Pennsylvania localities. ■ State legislature should enact statute like Connecticut law charging all localities with active responsibility to achieve at least 10% assisted housing in all local housing markets. Requirements include repeal of exclusionary-type zoning and building code provisions. ■ State should enact law like Connecticut Affordable Housing Land Use Appeals Process to put teeth into state requirements for mixed-income housing. Law would allow affordable housing providers to appeal local zoning rejection to single state court, place burden of proof on local zoning body, not housing developer. ■ State legislature should increase state funded housing assistance to help localities offset reductions in federal housing assistance grants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ State legislature should enact statewide Minnesota-type Fiscal Disparities Plan. Coverage should be regional for designated metropolitan areas and county-wide for non-metropolitan areas. State law would: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) retain current tax base for all localities as of base year; b) require pooling 40% of growth in all commercial, industrial and high-end residential property (i.e. above 150% of regional or countywide median value); c) establish redistribution formula based on population and relative tax capacity (locality's assessed valuation per capita as percentage of regional average). ■ Legislature should also assume greater responsibility for funding local school systems on state equalization formula basis. 	<p>Taming sprawl is state government's primary contribution to revitalizing Pennsylvania's city centers. Top priority must be state action on growth management law, followed by statewide mixed income housing mandates, and finally regional revenue sharing.</p> <p>State government must harness own state agencies to task.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ State road, other infrastructure investments should emphasize maintaining and rebuilding core community infrastructure rather than constant outward growth. ■ State law should direct state offices to locate in downtown areas whenever feasible. ■ State should expand provisions for tax credits, other incentives for commercial and residential renovation in historic communities.



Millions in public and private-sector dollars are being spent to revitalize York's South George Street corridor between downtown and Boundary Avenue for mixed residential and business uses. In this photo, artwork spices up what could otherwise be a plain, boarded-up window of a building.

YOU'RE INVITED

David Rusk will present the results of his report and be available for discussion at a public forum at 4 p.m. today in the main hall of the new Music, Art & Communications Center at York College. The building is the first one to your left as you enter from the main drive off Country Club Road. Admission is free.

Partnership turns Virginia around

Virginia has always been a battleground. Yorktown, Bull Run, the Peninsular Campaign, Fredricksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness Campaign, the Siege of Petersburg and Richmond — millions of tourists and history buffs visit its Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields.

Few states have also seen as many annexation wars. In past decades, when Virginia's "independent cities" annexed county lands, they took all the annexed territories' tax bases, schools — indeed, responsibility for all local government functions — away from county governments. No wonder that counties bitterly resisted municipal annexations. In 1979 counties convinced the Virginia General Assembly to exempt urban counties from further annexations. This history makes the initial achievements of Virginia's 2-year old Urban Partnership all the more remarkable.

The Urban Partnership is an alliance of mayors, city managers, and business leaders from Richmond, Norfolk, Virginia Beach and a dozen other large cities. Its co-chairmen are the mayor of Hampton, VA and the chairman of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce. CEOs of major companies, such as Crestar Financial Corporation, Bell Atlantic, and Dominion Resources, serve in the ranks and provide major financial support.

The Urban Partnership's guiding philosophy is that "healthy, thriving urban centers are critical to the economic vitality of regions." Enhancing Virginia's economic competitiveness, the Partnership states, requires lowering economic disparities between central cities and their suburbs.

Through joint local government-business leader committees and two well-attended Urban Summits, the

VIRGINIA'S REGIONAL POINT SYSTEM

Virginia's Regional Point System for State Incentive Funds:

Revenue sharing or education:

10

Human services, land use, or housing:

8

Special education:

6

Transportation or law enforcement:

5

Economic development, solid waste, or water and sewer services:

4

Corrections, fire protection, or ambulance services:

3

Libraries or parks and recreation:

2

No regional intergovernmental partnership could accumulate the 20 point minimum unless it took on tough issues, like revenue sharing, education, land use, and housing. Though the Partnership pushed for \$200 million for the regional incentive fund, a budget-slashing legislature provided only a first-year appropriation of \$3 million. It is, however, a promising foundation on which to build, the Urban Partnership vows.

Partnership shaped its statewide legislative program. It hired former Governor Linwood Holton to shepherd its proposals successfully through the

...history makes the initial achievements of Virginia's 2-year old Urban Partnership all the more remarkable.

1996 legislative session.

The Urban Partnership's program addressed both the "inside game" and the "outside game." To strengthen "neighborhood solutions," the Partnership convinced the General Assembly to expand the Virginia Housing Development Authority's power to finance mixed income housing through the state. Other bills increased tax credits available under the Neighborhood Assistance Act, allowed cities to make mandatory exterior repairs on deteriorated buildings when landlords balked, and ensured that new construction will be compatible in historic neighborhoods.

The package provided "regional incentives" through authorizing all municipalities to enter into revenue sharing and tax base sharing. A proposed constitutional amendment would extend similar authority to county governments.

Most remarkable is the Regional Competitiveness Act which provides a statewide regional incentive fund for localities that deliver services and plan regionally.

Eligibility for incentive payments requires establishing a regional partnership, drawing up a regional assessment and score card, and establishing interlocal service delivery agreements totaling 20 points on a weighted scale.

What York can learn from Minnesota's City/Suburb Coalition

"Well, the Twin Cities are different," skeptics often scoff when the area is cited as a model of regional reform. And they're right, the Minneapolis-St. Paul region is different — a high level of civic culture, a 29-year old regional government, and the nation's most far-reaching regional revenue sharing mechanism (see page 19).

But what really distinguishes the Twin Cities region is that older, inner-ring, blue-collar suburbs are making common cause with central cities. Led by State Representative Myron Orfield of Minneapolis, legislators from communities like Columbia Heights and Brooklyn Park now recognize that "inner-city" problems — poverty, crime, declining schools — are growing rapidly in their own districts. Both older suburbs and central cities have been hurt economically by disparities in regional growth, three-fourths of which has occurred in

wealthy "Fertile Crescent" suburbs like Bloomington, Edina, and Eden Prairie.

As a result, legislators from central cities, older suburbs, and Democrat-represented rural areas have formed a powerful legislative coalition. In the last four years, Minnesota's "Metropolitica" coalition racked up a remarkable legislative record. It enacted two regional fair share housing bills, approved a new regional revenue-sharing formula pooling tax revenues from high-end housing, changed the state tax code to end abuse of tax increment financing by wealthy suburbs and to protect farmers against land subdivision pressures, and revised how regional sewer services are funded.

The coalition vastly expanded the Metropolitan Council's powers, a regional planning and coordinating agency first established by the Minnesota legislature in 1967. The new

law placed regional sewer and transportation agencies with annual budgets totaling \$600 million under the "Met Council's" direct administration.

The Metropolitica coalition came within one vote on the Senate floor of switching the Met Council from gubernatorial appointment to direct election like Portland Metro. Beyond that one Senate vote, the coalition most often was stymied by one other missing vote — Minnesota Governor Arne Carlson's. Only vetoes by the Republican governor prevented more sweeping regional benefit-sharing and regional burden-sharing from taking effect.

The reform movement continues to broaden its base. Over 350 suburban churches have become members of the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability, a grassroots organization committed to "fair share" mixed-income housing in the suburbs. Two dozen older suburbs have embraced a proposal for a

metrowide, unified tax base. Support from the press, civic and business groups, and religious leadership continues to grow.

In the mid-1990s the Minnesota legislature has battled over all the crucial regional issues (growth management, affordable housing, fiscal disparities). Orfield and his colleagues have shown how to put together a winning coalition. That central city-older suburb coalition itself is the USA's most important regional reform model.

Almost all metro areas, including Pennsylvania's, have their own "Fertile Crescent" — those "Favored Quarters" where most new investment, job creation, and high-end housing happens. Transcending traditional city-suburb divisions and racial antagonisms to unite the "Unfavored Three-Quarters" will be the key to rewriting the rules of the game in Harrisburg.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Citizens often think there's little they can do to effect change. In fact, even a handful of letters will get the attention of politicians. They pay attention to coalitions that form and try to be sensitive to what people think is important. Elected officials also closely read comments published in letters to the editor columns and other forums. Here are some actions you can take:

THINK about this report. Do you agree? Disagree? Why or why not? Is this important for our community?

REACT to this report. Write a letter to the editor or call the newspaper with your comments. (See the end of this article.) If you prefer to make private comments, share them with Better York, c/o The Wolf Organization, PO Box 1267, York, Pa., 17405-1267. Use the coupon on the next page.

TALK about this report with your neighbors, friends, family and co-workers. Is there any agreement among you?

ASK community leaders what they plan to do to see that something happens. That could be your employer, a leader at your place of worship, or a public official.

DEMAND action from your local elected officials. Contact them by mail, phone or at public meetings and ask what how they're dealing with the issues addressed in this report. Let them know what you think possible solutions are. The Daily Record regularly publishes lists of scheduled public meetings. Call our library at 771-2019 if you don't know who to contact.

HOLD your elected leaders in Harrisburg accountable. Expect them to recognize these issues and act positively on them. (See a listing on the following page.)

VOLUNTEER to help a non-profit agency that deals with issues in this report such as housing, the environment, race relations, farmland preservation, and better government. There are many, many such organizations such as Crispus Attucks, the Farm & Natural Lands Trust and Pennsylvania Economy League.

PARTICIPATE in local government. Go to board meetings. Volunteer to serve on local boards and commissions. Run for office.

ACKNOWLEDGE that even though people disagree on what to do, we all appreciate

our community and want it to be an even better place.

How to contact the York Daily Record

By mail: Send to PO Box 15122, York PA, 17405-7122

By fax: 771-2009

By phone: Leave your comments on our news tip line 771-2002

By e-mail: news@ydr.com

In all cases, please include a name, town of residence and daytime phone number for verification. Phone numbers won't be published. Please limit letters to 300 words or less. To foster more public discussion of these issues, the York Daily Record also will provide copies of letters it receives on the Rusk Report to the York Dispatch/Sunday News.

To talk to Dennis Hetzel, editor and publisher of the Daily Record, call 771-2011.

HOW YOU CAN LEARN MORE

A READING LIST FOR MORE INFORMATION

For concerned York County citizens, the essential reading (and viewing) is Thomas Hylton's "Save Our Land, Save Our Towns: A Plan for Pennsylvania." Beautifully illustrated with 152 color photos of both the best and worst of Pennsylvania, Hylton's book is a passionate and persuasive plea for a state-wide land use planning law in Pennsylvania. A native of Wyomissing, Hylton has lived all his life in Pennsylvania cities and towns. Writing for the Pottstown Mercury, his editorials advocating the preservation of farmland and open space in southeastern Pennsylvania won a Pulitzer Prize in 1990. If "Save Our Land, Save Our Towns" were on 100,000 coffee tables in Pennsylvania, there would be political revolution over sprawl in Harrisburg.

To order, contact RB Books, 1006 N. Second St., Harrisburg, PA 17102. Phone: (717) 232-7944, or 1-800-497-1427 (toll free); FAX (717) 238-3280. Price: \$24.95 (soft cover).

Nobody who reads "American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of

the Under Class" will ever think about America's poverty-impacted cities in an unsympathetic way again. Written by the USA's leading scholars on residential segregation, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "American Apartheid" clearly links persistent poverty among blacks in the United States to the unparalleled degree of deliberate segregation they still experience in America's urban areas. Despite the Fair Housing Act of 1968, the authors argue, segregation is perpetuated today through an interlocking set of individual actions, institutional practices, and governmental policies. To order, contact your local book store. Published in 1993 by Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA and London, England. ISBN 0-674-01820-6 (hard cover); ISBN 0-674-01821-4 (paperback).

Written by Anthony Downs, dean of America's urban analysts, New Visions for Metropolitan America presents shrewd, economically sound alternative strategies to guide the development of America's metropolitan areas

without increasing traffic congestion and air pollution, endlessly raising taxes, or sacrificing the availability of affordable housing. To order, contact your local book store. Published in 1994 by The Brookings Institution (Washington, DC) and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (Cambridge, MA). ISBN 0-8157-1926-4 (hard cover); ISBN 0-8157-1925-6 (paperback).

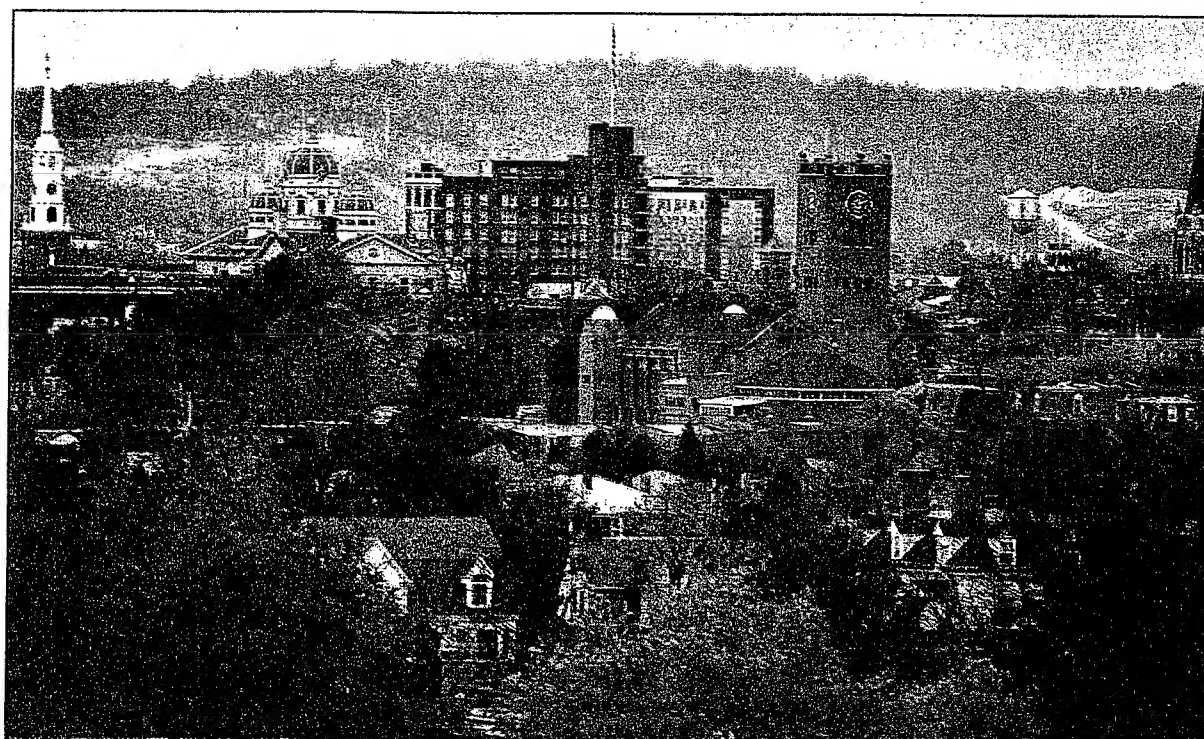
David Rusk's "Cities without Suburbs" has become an influential analysis of America's cities among city planners, scholars, and citizens alike. Based on a detailed study of census data on 522 central cities in 320 metro areas from 1950 to 1990, Rusk finds that cities trapped within old boundaries have suffered severe racial segregation and emergence of an urban underclass. But cities with annexation powers — termed "elastic" by Rusk — have shared in areawide development. To illustrate his points, Rusk contrasts Harrisburg, PA with Madison WI in the opening chapter. To order, contact your local bookstore, or call 1-800-537-5487. Second edition published

in 1994 by the Woodrow Wilson Center Press (Washington, DC) and distributed by the Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore, MD). ISBN 0-943875-73-0 (paperback). Price: \$13.95.

In his preface to Myron Orfield's "Metropolitics," Rusk calls the young Minnesota State Representative "one of the most revolutionary politicians in America."

Though focused on the Twin Cities area and the regionalism movement's battles in the Minnesota legislature (see page 22), Metropolitics lays out a comprehensive case for regional policy reforms in many metropolitan areas. Any public policy activist can use Metropolitics as a primer for your own community. Strike out "Minneapolis-St. Paul," write in your own region's name, and begin filling in the data blanks. The book is a detailed road map for analyzing and understanding most urban regions in America.

To be published in Spring, 1997 by The Brookings Institution (Washington, DC) and Lincoln Institute for Land Policy (Cambridge, MA).

VOLUNTEER FORM

I want to help renew our community

TO: Better York, PO Box 1267, York, Pa., 17405-1267

FROM (Your name): _____
(Address): _____

(Daytime phone): _____

☐ Count me in as someone who would like to get more involved in any coalition that forms to deal with the issues raised in the Rusk report.

☐ I'm not sure I want to join a coalition, but I'd like to be contacted with any follow-up information or mailings.

Any comments? Please share them. Use additional paper if necessary.

OUR LAWMAKERS**Members of State Senate:**

■ Sen. Gibson Armstrong, R-13, 16 Capitol East Wing, Senate P.O. Box 203013, Harrisburg 17120-3013, 787-6535 or 800-235-1313, fax 772-5471. District Office: 122 S. Queen St., Lancaster 17603, 397-1309, web site: <http://www.pcfocus.com/gib.html>

■ Sen. Daniel Delp, R-28, Room 457, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg 17120, 787-3817, fax 772-2753. District Office: Suite 702, Marketway South, 18 S. George St., York 17401, 846-2828, e-mail: ddelp@pasen.gov

■ Sen. Harold F. Mowery Jr., R-31, Senate Box 203031, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg 17120-3031, 787-8524, fax 772-0576. District Office: 1023 Mumma Road, Lemoyne 17043, 761-4437, e-mail: aberlin@pasen.gov

■ Sen. Terry Punt, R-33, Room 457, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg 17120, 787-4651, fax 772-2753. District Office: 4 Barlo Circle, Suite C, P.O. Box 116, Dillsburg 17019, 975-2235 or 432-0154.

Members of the U.S. Congress from Pennsylvania

■ U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum, 120 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, 202-224-6324, fax 202-228-0604, e-mail: senator@santorum.senate.gov

■ U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter, 530 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, 202-224-4254, fax 202-228-1229, e-mail: senator@specter.senate.gov

■ U.S. Rep. Bill Goodling, 2263 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, 202-225-5836, fax 202-226-1000

Members of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives

■ Rep. Bruce Smith, R-92, Room 5, Capitol East Wing, P.O. Box 202020, Harrisburg 17120-2020, 783-8783, fax 772-2279. District Office: 540-B Industrial Drive, Lewisberry 17339, 938-4988 or 800-283-1708, fax 938-6399, someone must be in office.

■ Rep. Mike Waugh, R-93, Room 51-B, Capitol East Wing, House P.O. Box 202020, Main Capitol, Harrisburg 17120-2020, 783-8389, fax 783-2867, e-mail: a.waugh@palegis.cmhc.state.pa.us. District Office: Suite 3, 73 E. Forrest Ave., Shrewsbury 17361, 227-0760 or 800-286-8309, fax 227-0932.

■ Rep. Stan Saylor, R-94, Room 54-A, Capitol East Wing, House P.O. Box 202020, Main Capitol, Harrisburg 17120-2020, 783-6426, fax 783-2867, e-mail: jhenning@palegis.cmhc.state.pa.us. District Offices: 11 W. Main St., P.O. Box 264, Fawn Grove 17321, 382-4595, fax same number as phone, call and tell secretary you're sending fax; and Cape Horn Plaza, 2997-B4 Cape Horn Road, Red Lion 17356, 244-9232, fax 246-2387.

■ Rep. Stephen Stettler, D-95, Room 115A, Capitol East Wing, Harrisburg 17120, 787-8995, fax 787-0861. District Office: 266 E. Market St., York 17403, 848-9595, fax 848-1871.

■ Rep. Steven R. Nickol, R-193, Room 150-B, Capitol East Wing, House P.O. Box 202020, Harrisburg 17120, 783-8875, fax 787-0860. District Office: Suite 130, 141 Broadway, Hanover 17331, 633-1721 or 800-326-5993, fax 633-9295.

■ Rep. Todd Platts, R-196, Room 52-B, Box 202020, Capitol East Wing, Harrisburg 17120-2020, 787-1298, fax 787-0859, e-mail: rsh196@palegis.cmhc.state.pa.us. District Office: 1998-C Carlisle Road, York 17404, 767-4334, fax 846-5581.

■ Rep. Al Masland, R-199, Room 51-A, House P.O. Box 202020, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg 17120-2020, 772-2280, fax 783-2867, e-mail: amasland@palegis.cmhc.state.pa.us. District Office: 27 N. Hanover St., Carlisle 17013-3014, 249-1990, fax 249-8775.